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NAGALAND

KOHIMA DISTRICT

NAGALAND DISTRICT GAZETTEERS

KOHIMA

BY

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EDITOR

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FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in introducing this Gazetteer on the Southern Naga Tribes of Nagaland.

Barring some memoirs and monographs by a few administrative officers who snatched a few moments to record some interesting social or anthropological customs and habits of the people, very few informative books are available to make possible a thorough study of the historical, cultural and social life of these tribes. The present Gazetteer, first of the series of books to be undertaken by the Nagaland District Gazetteers Unit, makes an effort to fill in the present gaps in our knowledge.

Besides its historical value this Gazetteer would also help the sociologists and administrators alike to understand the emotional make up of these tribes and their attitude towards worldly and spiritual matters. Those who have read monographs on some of the southern tribes written by administrative officers like Dr. J. H. Hutton and Mr. J. P. Mills would find the present Gazetteer still useful as it brings up to date not only the information contained in them, but adds a lot of new material and throws new informing lights on some of the aspects of their lives.

I hope this Gazetteer shall find its useful purpose in the different social reconstruction work for which it is intended.

R. KHATHING
Chief Secretary to the Government of Nagaland, Kohima

Dated,
Kohima, 1st March 1969

PREFACE

This publication, the first of its kind, has been the work of the Nagaland District Gazetteers Unit after it was started in 1967. It covers Southern Nagaland with multifarious subject-matter on topography, culture, history, administration, education, public health and economic life. Care has been taken to incorporate the additional informations which, we hope, will help illumine important aspects of Naga history and culture.

It may be worthy of note that some spade work has been done on the subject by the previous British administrators and tourists, printed hitherto in the form of memoirs and monographs. Details may have been lacking but nevertheless their works are valuable, classificable with the best references included in our bibliography. The most eminent are J. H. Hutton's *The Angami Nagas* and *The Sema Nagas* and J. P. Mills' *The Rengma Nagas*, but literature on Zeliangroung and the Chakhesang, the two other important tribes in Southern Nagaland is rather scanty. The above works have much bearing on the cultural aspects but little historical perspectives. Historical reconstruction works, to be authentic, would have to be, therefore, based upon the records available with the record rooms and archives. The traditional history, on a grand scale, can be reconstructed on the basis of the traditions which may be collected in the villages from the living memories of village councils and festivals.

Nagaland, with its multifarious tribes, is the India's eastern frontier State. In the old records certain anomalies have been come across as regards names of places and nomenclatures owing to the mistakes committed by the earliest British officials. Sometimes, this has been found stupendous on our part to regularize them.

In Nagaland there is much diversity in culture, language and other ethnological considerations. But it is noteworthy that there is also homogeneity as regards the practice and observance of the other cultural traits, usage and customs which again seems to infer that at one time or another, these were derived from a common substratum. The Lotha tribe situated more centrally in the State is said to have more affinities with the southern than the northern tribes. Of course the traditional interpretations of laws, custom and usage may vary from place to place or within a single village group. But these are minor controversial points which are as common as elsewhere in tribal areas. Traditions appear to be definite that at one time treaties were held amongst

the many tribes who had agreed then to evolve a common Concept of unity by a series of cultural inter-changes.

Numerous difficulties have to be encountered with in connection with the historical reconstruction owing to the remoteness of interesting historical places situated in the distant interior and because traditions also vary from place to place. We may assume that case studies and exemplaries, carefully selected, might be constructive enough so that certain basis has been laid down for building up valuable studies on the diverse subject-matter in the days to come, while constructive criticisms are welcomed so that necessary modifications may be made in future.

In treating the history, the entire State comes into limelight when we remember that the modern Naga history started in Southern Nagaland, Kohima having been an almost century old capital whilst before 1878, Chumukedima in the adjoining foothills became the first district headquarters. Subsequently the affairs became inter-linked with Central and Northern Nagaland, the role played by Kohima having been brought to retrospective. The modern socio-economic and administrative transformations which cover Nagaland have in certain length been dealt with. The work covers up to 1967-68.

It is also relevant to point out that certain mistakes may have been committed in the body of statistical appendices and tables as the figures may have changed very oftenly from time to time, coupled with the fast changing gazette notifications, sometimes in supersession of one another at the specified time. The apology of all concerned is therefore craved in the event such mistakes or inaccuracies have crept in this publication. Notwithstanding such anomalies, it is our fervent wish that certain perspectives may be drawn with towards social reconstruction works, economic and educational regenerations, socio-economic studies and other welfare works in future, if perchance it has got something to offer in that direction.

This work has been undertaken in lines with the advice of the State Advisory Board with the Chief Secretary as its Chairman, the first draft having been thoroughly scrutinised by Mr Ruzhukhric Sekhose, Mr A. Kevichusa, Mr P. Sentsi and Mr Levi Legise appointed by the Board for its review. Some minor modifications have been made in the light of their constructive suggestions. My thanks are due to the following members of the Advisory Board:—

1. Shri R. Khathing,
   Chief Secretary to the Government of Nagaland,
   Kohima — *Chairman*

2. Shri H. Zopianga,
   Development Commissioner and Ex-officio Secretary
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   (erstwhile) Joint Secretary to the Government of
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4. Shri R. H. M. D'Silva,
   Special Secretary to the Government of Nagaland
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5. Dr P. N. Chopra,
   Editor, (District Gazetteers) Ministry of Education,
   Government of India, New Delhi — *Member*
6. Shri Yajen Aier,
   Director of Education, Nagaland, Kohima — *Member*
7. Shri M. Alemchiba Ao,
   Senior Research Officer, Naga Institute of Culture,
   Nagaland, Kohima — *Member*

I have the pleasure of recording hereby my grateful thanks to the following departments for the materials kindly furnished at our disposal which have bearing on economic transitions, administration, education and public health:—

1. Directorate of Education, Nagaland, Kohima.
2. Directorate of Industries, Nagaland, Kohima.
3. Directorate of Agriculture, Nagaland, Kohima.
4. Directorate of Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Nagaland, Kohima.
5. Directorate of Health Services, Nagaland, Kohima.
6. Directorate of Forests, Nagaland, Kohima.
7. Directorate of Information and Publicity, Nagaland, Kohima.
8. Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Nagaland, Kohima.
9. Research Officer (Statistics), Nagaland, Kohima.
10. Superintendent of Census, Nagaland, Kohima.
11. Public Works Department, Nagaland, Kohima.

12. Electrical Department, Kohima Electric Division, Nagaland, Kohima.
13. Commissioner of Taxes, Nagaland, Kohima.
14. Geological Survey of India, Assam Circle, Shillong.
15. Assembly Secretariat, Nagaland, Kohima.
16. Offices of the Town Committee.
17. Office of the Deputy Commissioner Nagaland, Kohima.

I will be failing in my duty, if I do not express my thanks to Dr. P. N. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Editor, District Gazetteers and the staff of the Central Gazetters Unit, Ministry of Education and Youth Services, New Delhi, for their effective role in planning and co-ordinating the work of preparation of the District Gazetters. The Unit scrutinised the draft of this volume with great care and made several helpful suggestions with a view to improving the standard and quality of the publication. It may also be mentioned here that a portion of the expenditure incurred on the compilation and printing of the District Gazetteers is being met by the Government of India.

The Government records available with the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies at Gauhati, Assam Secretariat Record Room and NEFA Records in Shillong, West Bengal's Archives in Calcutta, National Archives in New Delhi, have carefully been utilised for reconstructing the history. Further, the records collected at the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the National Library in Calcutta, the Gauhati University, and the local libraries and records in Kohima have been found very valuable towards setting in the historical background against the present economic transition and other phases of transformation. My thanks are due to the above record rooms and library institutions for the facilities which have been provided in connection with the selection and evaluation of records, books, journals and magazines which have bearing on Nagaland.

Yet field works undertaken in certain historical places on Southern Nagaland are equally important for our purpose, for which we are grateful to the following for assisting us to get acquainted with the antiquities of the land:—

1. Mr Ikiesing Thou, M.L.A.
2. Mr E. Lungalang
3. Mr Ibang Thou
4. Mr Thiyesi

5. Mr Shulwo Rengma
6. Mr Holoji Rengma
7. Rev. M. Savino, Kohima
8. Mr D. L. Mech, M.L.A., Dimapur.

Our grateful thanks are also due to Naga Institute of Culture and Directorate of Information and Publicity for allowing us to use some of the photographic illustrations included in this Gazetteer.

The following officers are mentioned hereby for the help in furthering the progress of the work during the final stage—

1. Mr N. M. Ngullie, Compiler
2. Mr M. Zhasa, Compiler

Mr Ngullie has collected some data for the other Districts of the State while the materials collected by Mr Zhasa on Angami and Chakhesang festivals have been utilised for this publication.

Had it not been for the active co-operation of the staff of the District Gazetteers Unit, the work would not have accelerated as at its present tempo for which the following may be mentioned: Mr P. K. Deb, Stenographer, Mr J. C. Sharmah, Head Assistant, Mr I. Ao, U D.A. and Mr R. Sekhose, Accountant. Even Mr B. C. Sharma, L.D.A.-cum-Typist, Mrs Ane Angami, Typist and Mr V. V. Angami, Typist deserve mention for the help to cope with typing out the manuscript as many times as were necessary. We cannot leave out also the names of Mr R. B. Purkayastha, Accountant, Mr C. George and Mr Y. Ngullie, Typist associated with this office for some time.

Lastly, we are grateful to M/S Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd., for co-operating to expedite early publication, particularly to Shri Dipak Ghosh, Assistant Sales Manager, for taking initiative to bring out the printed volume in time.

KOHIMA,
DECEMBER 15, 1969

HAMLET BAREH

CONTENTS

ERRATA

Page	*Line*			
XVI	Facing art plate	idigenous	Read	indigenous.
8	24	snow-capped	,,	snow-bound.
11	1	I think	,,	Omit.
24	4	for ivory	,,	and ivory.
52	1	April 3-4	,,	April 4.
88	art plate no. 6	Rengma dance	,,	Chakhesang dance.
103	21	from high	,,	Delete.
103	22	shallow	,,	light.
103	25	in proportion of	,,	in reaction.
171	6	Chazouba	,,	Chazouba and Angami area.
197	34	*U Kenei Dze* part I & II—1954	,,	*U Kenei Dze* part I & II, 1954: Third Edition.
198	8	Zhavil	,,	Zhavise.
198	13	short stories	,,	short stories *(Noudo Dze)*
201	28	Another library at Kohima is	,,	known as.
207	13	Dimapur—No. of beds--20	,,	33.
207	14	Ghaspani—No. of beds—12	,,	20.
207	20	after 1966	,,	12.
212	20	Khengunyu	,,	Khasanyu.
212	23	Chukmi	,,	Goukimi.
212	25	Ighuni	Read	Ighanumi.
213	23	Zalnukie	Read	Zalukie (Jalukie)
214	6	Tephori	,,	Lephori.
214	9	Khen	,,	Ahen.
219	24	1878-79	,,	1879-80.
219	last line	1878	,,	1879.
212	25	Hebolimi and Kughotomi are to be added after Mukalimi.		
213	19	Saijang is added after Khaljang.		

GUIDE TO SPELLINGS OF PLACE NAMES

		Correct Version
Nagaland	—	Nāgāland
Kohima	—	Kohīma
Rangpahar-Dimapur	—	Rangapahār-Dimāpur
Peren	—	Peremi
Phongkhauri	—	Phokhungri
Ghaspani	—	Ghāspāni
Imphal	—	Imphāl
Rangazumi	—	Rangazumi
Pughobato	—	Pugoboto
Chakaboma	—	Chakhàmbama
Dihoma	—	Dihoma
Mao	—	Mao Songsang
Jorhat	—	Jorhāt
Dimapur	—	Dimāpur
Kikrima	—	Kekrima
Piphema	—	Piphima
Mezoma	—	Mozema
Chumukedima	—	Chumakudi or Sāmaguting
Medziphema	—	Meziphima
Mezephema	—	Mezeiphema
Chesiphema	—	Chieshiephema
Khonoma	—	Pfunoma
Jotsoma	—	Zotsuma
Sibsagar	—	Sibsāgar
North Cachar Hills	—	North Cachār Hills

Abbreviations for page 128:

CPO's	—	Central Purchasing Organisations
M.T.	—	Metric Tonnes

No map has been included in the publication as the Boundaries of Nagaland are subject to revision as provided for in the 1960 Delhi Agreement.

An Idigenous Bridge in the Foreground

A View of the Mountain Scenery

CHAPTER I

GENERAL

Physical Features and Topography

SOUTHERN Nagaland comprises the Kohima District, bounded by the State of Assam and the Districts of Mokokchung and Tuensang on the north, by Tuensang District and the International boundary line on the east, by Manipur on the south and by the State of Assam on the west. It forms an irregular plateau with the elevated ridges and peaks. The Barail, whence it enters the District from the south-west, becomes broken up by the influence of the meridional axis of elevation which protrudes from the Arakan Yoma. The extensive terrain on the east is dominated by Kapamezu, a thrust of the Ukhrul chain from Manipur, while the eastern extremity becomes merged up with the Burmese system of mountains. The central portion commands a view of the open rolling mountains but the eastern and south-western portions have a more complicated terrain, impassable at certain places. Northwardly from the District, the thrusts continue into the Mokokchung and Tuensang Districts till the Pātkai Bum in Tirap of NEFA, north of Tuensang is reached. North-east of the District is the Saramati peak in south-eastern Tuensang at an elevation of 12,553 feet, which summit is snow-capped during the winter time. The north-western portion is a plains territory whence at the terminus of the District, it becomes merged into the Sibsagar and Mikir plains of Assam. Kohima, the present State headquarters of Nagaland is situated in the heart of the District on a saddle, north of the Japfu-Barail intersection. Known as the *Switzerland of the East*, it commands a charming scenery and a magnificent landscape.

The following are the eminent peaks in Southern Nagaland:—

(1) Japfu[1] (Jāpvo) — 9,890 ft. south of Kohima.
(2) Ezupu — 9,320 ft. south-west of the Japfu.
(3) Paona — 8,157 ft. in the central Zeliangroung valley.
(4) Angola — 6,764 ft. in southern Zeliangroung territory.
(5) Laishing — In close proximity to Angola and of similar altitude.

[1]Parts of the Japfu mountain summit owing to its high altitude are snow-bound during the cold weather.

(6) Tenou	—	Near the Barak river, amidst an impenetrable mountain terrain in the south-west.
(7) Khunho	—	8,804 ft. south of Japfu, on the head-waters of Zullo (Dzulu).
(8) Zephu	—	8,403 ft. east of Meluri.
(9) Ninmu (or Nummuhi)	—	7,993 ft. near Hetzopomi.
(10) Kapamezu	—	7,970 ft. north-east of Lekroma.
(11) Terapimithu	—	7,200 ft. near Phek.
(12) Zellizu	—	In western Chakhesang area.
(13) Taraharo (Terhazu)	—	7,971 ft. west of Viswema.
(14) Suwenuchika (Sovinocheka)	—	7,379 ft. north of Sechuma.
(15) Puliebadze	—	In close proximity to Japfu, about 7,532 ft. altitude, situated in the same mass of chains.
(16) Therugu (Tarago) Peak	—	South of Tseminyu.

Summits of the lofty peaks are thickly wooded, clad with an evergreen vegetation; they abound in the fascinating games, varied flora and fauna. The lower hills have for the greater portion become deforested owing to the practice of both the slash and burn and terrace systems of cultivation. Owing to the scanty undergrowth, the loose and delicate soil structure, absence of old rocks and the widespread soft clay across the precipitous slopes, land slides are frequent which cause serious impediments to trade and agricultural enterprises and the maintenance of communications where they feature out most. Such soil which usually retains bare and weak vegetation often shrinks easily after the showers, the soft clay (sub-soil) tumbling down the hillside causing at places a gigantic formation of slough. Sometimes it would appear insurmountable to organise trade and industry in the face of such shrills and cracks on the soil.

Yet irrespective of such disadvantage, the country commands a majestic landscape. Rolling hills skirting over the horizon with terraces cut across the lower slopes, the narrow glens at their base, the profuse vegetation which clothes the mountain summits on a higher altitude, the diverse flora which lay scattered on the hills blooming in their verdant colour are panoramic views. The invigorating breeze and the temperate weather make life pleasant and lay incentives for manual works and physical exertions; and how magni-

ficent are those beauty spots which set a thrill to a watchful spectator. And on the eastern and western extremities, the oblong and sturdy ridges, their precipitous slopes—the elongated chains which merge themselves into the imposing plateaux, at places intersected by tribal traditional tracks and newly constructed roads winding up and down the cliffs, at times touching the villages with their age-long existence on the spurs. Glens at places open out into the diminutive valleys.

Rivers:—Hill streams are many. A principal river in the east is Tizu, which on its upper reaches drains the Sema area in Mokokchung. Entering the District from the north, it flows southwardly until the southern boundary is reached, whence it winds eastwardly and again flows northwardly to debouch for Tuensang; the river makes an eastwardly bend in southern Tuensang till it leaves the eastern frontier for Burma which is emptied, after a long course in Chindwin, a tributary of the Irrawaddy. It gets an addition of small tributaries such as Teseru, Laniye, Thetsiru or Viratai or Ther, Phimi and others in the southern extremity of the State.

Dzulu is a principal river which drains the central portion; it rises south-east of Kohima near the southern boundary and flows northwardly, whence on leaving Kohima for the Mokokchung District, it comes to be known as Doyang (Diyung) or Tapu. It drains a great part of Mokokchung, and finally debouches the hills for the Sibsagar plains. Sidju or Yeti in southern Nagaland is its main tributary. Rengma (Tsil) river is another tributary of Doyang in the foothills.

Another river is Nro which rises south of Phekerkrima and then flows northwardly before it falls in Doyang at Mokokchung.

The western rivers[1] comprise the following:—

Dhansiri (Temaki)—which rises in the south-west of the District; it first flows westwardly and then takes a northwardly course (forming a natural boundary with North Cachar Hills); having debouched North Cachar, it bends eastwardly and flows past the Rangapahar-Dimapur plains in Kohima District and again leaving the District, it flows on northwardly until it falls into the Brahmaputra at Dhansirimukh. It receives all the western and northern drainage of Southern Nagaland. It is in Sibsagar that its real size is noticed before its confluence with Brahmaputra and becomes one of the latter's largest tributaries having carried out all the hill drainage. It is navigable only during the monsoons near Golaghat with country boats and small steamers plying up and down stream.

Diphu (Duidiki)—its source lies near Paona peak, flowing northwardly

[1]Bracketed names are original Zeliangroung

till it leaves the hills, where near the point of debouching for the plains, it receives an addition of Khukhi[1] river which has drained a north-western portion of the District. Its confluence with Dhansiri is near Dimapur.

Tasangki—west of Peren which flows southwardly till its confluence with Barak (Mbeiki).

Tuilang (*Inkoyo*)—is another river on the southern extremity.

Duknaki—rises east of Chalkot which during its upper reaches, flows westwardly and thence northwardly.

Manglu—which rises north of Peren and flows northwardly.

Lānglong—rises near Jalukie and proceeds on westwardly.

Tahaki or Khova—which rises from the Paona peak and flows northwardly up to Samaguri and then meets Dhansiri.

Disagfojañ—which flows parallel to Langlong and Tahaki.

Teipuiki—which rises from the Barail.

Those rivers whose exits lie in the south-western extremity such as Tasangki are emptied in Barāk or Tullong (Mbeiki), a torrential river which rises in the Kapamezu range, and flows southwardly into Manipur but later on bends westwardly to Silchar plains. Its course is through the very difficult mountain terrain.

None of the rivers is navigable. At the time after the Naga Hills District was formed in 1866, Dhansiri was made navigable by digging the banks, so as to widen the river bed for the purpose of carrying transport from Golaghat upstream to Dimapur only during the rainy season and again removing it to Chumukedima both by elephants and porters. An old deserted channel of Diphu is still to be seen near its affluence with Dhansiri, still called *Mora Diphu* (in Nagamese)

In the hills, Paona, Barail and Kapamezu form the main watersheds. The rivers flow through a succession of pools and rapids according to the topographical formation and when piercing the crags, they spread over the pebbles and massive stone linings. When falling down the precipices, they form themselves wild diminutive cascades. The streams become violent when they are in spate and erode the glens through which they drill.

Lakes and tanks: There is a famous Lacham, a natural lake in eastern Chakhesang, east of Meluri. It lies in a glen amidst the grotesque heights of the over-stretching ranges.[2] There is another small lake called *Achie* in Pfutsero.

[1]Silt is deficient, although noticed at the confluence of the rivers in the plains territory.

[2]Small wells are excavated in many villages which serve as water reservoirs. It is believed among Nagas that megalithic erections are associated with the excavation of tanks

At Dimapur, tanks surviving as historical relics of the old Kachari kings are still to be seen in Puranabazar, but many yet (totalling more than fifty in number), have become mere pits and hollows as they are all dried up. The most important tanks are—(*i*) Bongola Pukhuri, (*ii*) Padum Pukhuri, (*iii*) Jor Pukhuri and (*iv*) Bamon Pukhuri.[1]

Vegetation:—Vegetation varies from alpine to sub-himalayan and from tropical to sub-tropical as also to temperate. It is mainly classified as follows:[2]—

(*i*) Wet evergreen,
(*ii*) Sub-tropical wet hill,
(*iii*) Wet temperate, and
(*iv*) Pine forests.

The plains belt on the north-west abounds in the ***wet evergreen vegetation***, the main species comprise nahor, sam, poma, khokan, ajhar, makai, gonseroi, amari, hingari, hollong, lali, rata, titasopa and nagaser. This zone constitutes a tropical broad-leaf vegetation, some trees reaching the top canopy in gigantic height.

Sub-tropical wet hill vegetation thrives at an altitude, ranging from 1,000 to 4,000 feet, characterized by the species such as chestnut (castanopsis spp), Michelia champaca, Schima wallichii, Gmelina arborea, Albizzia spp and members of meliaceae. Rengma foothills adjoining Sibsagar plains abound in deciduous riverian canes and sometimes impenetrable bamboo groves.

Pine trees are found over an altitude varying from 3,000 to 4,000 ft. but confined only to the south-eastern (Chakhesang) region only. Oak and rhododendron are also associated with it

Wet temperate—which is widespread on a 5,000 ft. altitude; Betula, Rhododendron, Magnolia, Juglans regia and Runus are the main species. The vegetation is assigned mostly to moist and swampy places.

Lower hills near Kohima and along the national highway (Dimapur-Imphal) have largely been reduced of vegetation because of a large-scale deforestation in connection with cultivation and other enterprises in the years gone by A greater part of the steeps has been reduced to permanent wet-rice terraced fields. There is a practice of cultivation on slash and burn but it is of quite a small proportion and not to an extent as is practised in Mokokchung or Tuensang agricultural zones; in fact jhum is confined to Zeliangroung and

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[1] Six tanks in 1864 were called—(*i*) Dipo pukhuri (*ii*) Thara pukhuri, (*iii*) Podo pukhuri, (*iv*) Girani pukhuri, (*v*) Podom pukhuri, (*vi*) Dolani pukhuri. An Ahom scribe during the 16th century also noticed six cisterns or tanks.

[2] *Forest in Nagaland*, a leaflet A thorough botanical survey on a more scientific basis has not been completed

northern Rengma while Angami wet-rice terraced cultivation has been adopted by almost all the Chakhesang groups and southern Rengmas. But in Chakhesang and Zeliangroung vast forest tracts are still seen clothed with a profuse vegetation sheltering a host of birds, animals and fowls, where Burmese fauna is said to have traversed through those dense jungles to India's eastern fringes. Perhaps in these jungles is stored a natural wealth in a great variety. Jhum lands after the cycle's completion generally becomes converted to grasslands but there is no denying the fact, owing to this practice, that the soil's fertility is much replenished.

And what a collection of rich, varied and rare orchids and other species of flora in the jungles, animating and blossoming for all the seasons of the year!

It is a general surmise that Naga resembles closely the sub-himalayan type of vegetation and flora obtained in Sikkim.

Posts, pillars, planks, troughs, mortars, etc. are scooped of wood. Sappers, creepers, barks, wild vines, tubers, bamboo and cane have a multifarious use connected with the manufacture of rainproof coats, rain hats, utensils and furnitures, as well as bridges and house buildings and other domestic items. They make robes out of strong creepers and strings out of bamboo skin. Orchids are much loved as decoration. Wild vegetables, roots, fruits and tubers are eaten raw or prepared into food. Plantain leaves which grow wild are used as packages of food-stuffs such as meal, fish, salt, meat and for wrapping the rice preparation during the process of fermentation. Straw is used for house thatching.

Fauna:—Nagaland constitutes a meeting ground of the sub-himalayan, Indian, Chinese and Burmese types of fauna and therefore it is as much varied.[1] A great deal of games has become extinct owing to the indiscriminate hunting; the game among the Nagas is valued not only for its meat[2] but hide and skin, skulls, tusks and feathers, which the people have great liking as part of their ornamentation and decoration. Wild elephants are found in the foothills and are fascinating game to the Nagas who hunt them for their meat and tusks but elephants are not domesticated for any purpose of transport. Tiger has its lair in the dense jungle. The deer family comprises the barking deer, sambar and serow; the barking deer have their home in altitudes varying from the plains to 5,000 feet and are a prey to tiger and leopard tribes. Rhinoceros

[1] A tradition is still current among the Sangtam and other eastern Nagas that their forefathers came to their present habitat in search of plumes and tusks—a similar type obtained in their original home which furnish ornamentation and decoration

[2] A few hunters earn their livelihood by hunting Deer's meat is highly valued in the local markets.

one on dwindling as they have been constantly killed and hunted preceding generation, a fascinating hound of the hunters. The id jackal tribes are also available but sparsely distributed. Other nprise wild buffaloes, wild pigs, wild bears, wild dogs, antlers but vary to squirrels, bats, otters, musk-rats etc.

s comprise vipers, kraits, rat-snakes, grass-snakes, cobra, lizards, toads, and pythons.

ower hills have become reduced of birds and fowls but the best still confined to the higher altitudes which include partridge, varbler, robin, quail, wood-pecker, hornbill, pheasant, porcupine, , crow, snipe and other wag-tails. Even the lower hills are a home of coo, sparrow, sun-bird, parrot, parakeet and other colourful wrens.

onally species of green-coloured mynas and parrots in a flock are ng close to the inhabitations from one hill side to another in the ns.

gy:—The entire geological structure of southern, central and agaland is essentially the same. According to the Geological Survey outhern Nagaland is governed by the Disang and the Barail series he Disangs conforming to the oldest rocks are dominant towards the n Japfu and Seramati at an altitude of 3,000 ft. to 4,000 ft but the s are abundant towards the west. Disang series exhibits thin splintery interbedded with hard bands of fine-grained flaggy sand stones. ferruginous varieties are not uncommon, which concretions are the shales extending to Mokokchung. Iron pyrites are found in the ixed with carbonaceous matter. But sandstones even appear to be than massive impure varieties of shale. Where Disangs show metamorphism, the argillaceous beds become more slaty with of blue slates weathering to pale grey green. Phyllites, talcose and reen in colour and soapy to touch are admixed. Slate of superior bundant in Tizu valley used by the Nagas for their house building mmercial purpose which in a more metemorphosed zone is com- quartz. Serpentine intrusions are noted in a thick band of conglo- ar the Seramati peak. Disang beds generally dip at steep angles. The soft. Their splintery character has helped to cause frequent land- ed by the practice of jhum and deforestation. Pyrites and carbo- atters are also admixed. Deposits of chrysotile asbestos are found e south bordering on Nurma between Puchimi and Keromi in r.

The Barail contains fine-grained sandstones, hard, blueish, grey, thin bedded and flaggy in nature. Apart from the carbonaceous elements which when traversing northwardly from Chumukedima terminate in the Doyang coal field, other deposits of iron pyrites and iron stained nodules are also noticed. Towards the south-west, the Barail exhibits the formation of massive sand-stone but the shale is absent.

Mineral wealth:—We have referred to chrysotile asbestos and slate occurring in south-eastern region and the Tizu valley. Coal is sparsely distributed in the highlands, while the Naga foothills bordering on the Assam plains have extensive coal deposits; this is due to the elliptic exposure of the Barail. The only important coal field is Diyung situated in the Lotha foothills (25°05": 94°00"). Thin deposits of copper, nickel, silver and small oil seepages are reported in the Rengma hills bordering on Mokokchung district.

Brines and salt exist in the south-eastern and western portions of the District. They are located at Akhegwo, Yisi, Purr, Molen and Ozeho in eastern Chakhesang as well as Jalukie, Peietki and Mbaupungwa in Zeliangroung hills. At the brine wells, salt is excavated locally in the indigenous tribal way.

North of Rengma areas there are occurrences of dark plastic clay at 26°45": 27°45" north and 94°25":95°49" east.

Climate:—Owing to the elevation which it commands, Southern Nagaland has a salubrious climate, temperate type. Winters are cold, but the summers are warm, the Kohima District being sheltered by the lofty mountain summits such as Japfu on the centre, Kapamezu on the south-east and Saramati on the north-east. The Japfu is snow-capped during the winter. December and January form the coldest part of the season when frost occurs. The spring season is warm and humid, but the breeze though invigorating is interrupted at times by the gales. The heat decreases during the autumn, October and November being the finest part of the year. The north-western outlying foothills are as hot and damp as the adjacent plains. The average annual rainfall which Kohima receives is 2,000 millimetres—much lesser than what recorded at Wokha or Mokokchung. But summer season is humid.

During the hottest part of the year (July or August), the temperature in Kohima is only on the average 80 or 90° F. Summer and autumn skies are frequently over-clouded owing to the thick mists which when rising up in dense columns from the glens and precipitous slopes, soon envelop the landscape. The mist which obstructs sunshine's reach makes the atmosphere humid. It has its blessing in disguise as it gives support to orchids, mushroom and moss which bloom uninterruptedly in the moist soil but the vegetation which

clothes the crest is too varied and profuse. The foothills which afford a corridor to Assam being contiguous to the plains, share a tropical weather. Dimapur and the areas along a road up to Ghaspani (Medziphema) where the veritable ascent starts into the hills is hot and malarious, a contrast of the hills.

Special feature and natural calamities:—The soil being loose, landslides are frequent and occur almost annually during the post-monsoon causing disruption to communications necessitating transhipment in those delicate areas where clay dominates. To cite an instance, Dimapur-Manipur motor national highway on the fifth mile location from Kohima is almost annually disturbed during the autumn season owing to the landslide with the accompanying overspreading mud and slough after the heavy rains. But the clearance of a landslide is, even with the help of modern apparatus, insurmountable.

The thunderstorms at times are violent and similar to the nor-westers of East Bengal.

An enormous ravage over a landscape occurred of an earthquake on January 10, 1869, just a few years after the Naga Hills District was formed with the slight tremors which continued till January 14, modern Chumukedima and nearby areas being largely affected. A great mass of earth is said to have slipped down the slopes. Cracks and shrills were tremendous. The Diphu river bed was disrupted by the violent cracks of a hill base along its course so that the old bed became deserted and a new channel was cut by the river over-burdened with loads of rocks, stones, wood and mud. The earthquake of 1897 had little effect upon this part of Nagaland. But during the earthquake of 1950, the eastern tract running from Tirap to Mizo Hills was not affected much as the area was far from the epicentre located north of Lohit District in NEFA.

Distribution of tribes:—The principal tribes of the District are:—

(1) Angami—who inhabit the central and northern portion of the District.
(2) Rengma—who settle in the northern portion.
(3) Chakhesang—who occupy the eastern tract.
(4) Zeliangroung—who reside in the western area.[1]

Other tribes are the Kuki who settle west of Zeliangroung, a small group of Sema settlers in eastern Tseminyu administrative centre, and a few Garos and Mikirs in the foothills. Kachari colonies surviving from the olden days still remain scattered in Dimapur side by side with Naga inhabitance. Nepali

[1] The tribes who border Chakhesang on the north are the Sema. North of the Rengma are the Lotha and more northwardly are the Ao in Mokokchung. East of Mokokchung is Tuensang inhabited by Sema, Sangtam Phom, Chang, Konyak, and other tribes.

settlers in negligible ratio are also found in the country. The foothills containing Dimapur-Chumukedima-Rangapahar strip of territory being out of inner line have a larger proportion of mixed population than anywhere in the State.

Sub-Divisions:—The Deputy Commissioner is in charge of the District; the following are the sub-divisions:—

(1) Kohima sub-division in the heart of the Angami country, the headquarters of a Deputy Commissioner who is assisted by two Additional Deputy Commissioners, one Sub-Divisional Officer and two Extra-Assistant Commissioners.[1]

(2) Phek sub-division with its headquarters at Phek in Chakhesang area where an Additional Deputy Commissioner is stationed. Meluri, an eastern Chakhesang tract is placed under one Extra-Assistant Commissioner. There are Circle Officers who look after Pfutsero and Chazauba. The circle under the Extra-Assistant Commissioner is Phongkhuri.

(3) Dimapur—having a mixed population in the charge of a Sub-Divisional Officer with two Extra-Assistant Commissioners. The Pherima (Angami) circle is attached to Dimapur Sub-division.

(4) Jalukie—the Zeliang headquarters of the Sub-Divisional Officer with two circles—Tening and Pedi each under the charge of a Circle Officer.

Tseminyu is the Rengma headquarters of the Extra-Assistant Commissioner. Chiephobozou, the northern Angami circle and Pughobotto (Sema) under Tseminyu are each looked after by the Circle Officer. Tseminyu administrative centre is attached to the Kohima Sadar Sub-Division.

Naga—origin of the word: The origin of the word is obscure. Many think that Naga (after Assamese *Nanga*)[2] means naked; sometimes it is suggested that the word means a snake probably connected with Naga snake charmers of the Aryan history. It is also surmised that it is a nickname used by a plainsman for a hillman on the contention that the so-called backward hill tribes of central India are called Naga by the Hindus. It was Holcombe, eighty years ago[3] who found that it was not a foreign derivation but an appelation of *Nok* which according to the trans-Patkoi Nagas, the Nocte and Wancho and the Tuensang Konyak means *man*. Nok is a root-word of Naga titles such as Nokta, Noktar (Nocte) and Nokva, Vanok in modern Tirap. That it is not a foreign

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[1] There are circle officers attached to each headquarters.

[2] A corruption of Sanskrit.

[3] Lieutenant W. A. Holcombe—*Exploration Survey in the Naga Hills*, East 1873-74, p 4

derivation is evidenced, I think, by the existence of Naga tribes in Burma. The forefathers therefore knew themselves as Naga since their previous home in Burma and before they migrated to the present Naga country. Probably in the great Naga community were merged together groups of different ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities for holding themselves against the infiltration and pressure of Thai, Kachin and Chin races.[1] The connection of the word *Naga* with Assamese or Bengali *Nanga* or Naga snake charmers of the Indian History is very much open to doubt.

Many tribes of Bodo affiliation such as Garo and Mikir (Arleng) have the same attribute of *man* to their tribes' titles.

APPENDICES

'*A*'

The tertiary succession of the state is grouped as follows.[2]

Recent . Pleistocene		Alluvium and highlevel terraces.
	Unconformity	
Pliocene	Dihing Series	Loose sandstones, clays and pebble beds
	Unconformity	
Mio-Pliocene	Namsang Beds	Soft coarse sandstones, clays and occasional coal conglomerate.
	Unconformity	
Miocene	.. Tipam Series	Girujan Mottled clays and Clay fined grained stage sandstones.
Tipam Sandstone Stage		Coarse grained ferruginous, micaceous sandstones and minor clay.
Surma Series	.. Tikak Parbat Stage	... Sand stones, carbonaceous shales and coal seams.
Oligocene Barail Series	. Baragolai Stage	... Sandstones, shales.
	Naogaon Sandstone Stage	Flaggy, bluish grey hard sandstones.
Eocene Disang Series	..	. Grey spintery shales and salts traversed by thin quartz veins and serpentinised intrusions.

[1] Prototypes respectively— (1) Karen in Lohit and Ahom in Assam, (2) Singpho in Tirap and Lohit, (3) tribes affiliated to Kuki.

[2] Superintending Geologist's letter, Assam Circle *No. 3112/30/1/1* Assam '67 dt Shillong *5.10 67.* In referring to the District, the Disang and Barail series deserve more emphasis.

'B'[1]

Shells and Coral bones:—

1. Aleaous inflatus below Japvo and at the head of Lanmer river
2. Alyeaous stoliczkii on Anglo-aolono peak and of the head of Lannier.
3. Alyeaous Globulus at Phangum village at the head of Lannier.
4. Alyeaous bicrenatus at the crest of a Kapamezu peak
5. Alyeaous multirugosus at the head of Lanmer river.
6. Alyeaous graphicus.
7. Ingrami at Dimapur and up the Khunho peak of Barail
8. Naganeansi at Kapamezu
9. Khasiacus at Kapamezu.
10. A Urnula along the Barail
11. A diagonius scattered along the Dhansiri valley

'C

AMOUNT OF RAINFALL

Station	Year	Inches
Kohima	1908-09	59 59
Ibid . .	1913-14	62 26

Compare with other stations in the District at the contemporary period

Station	Year	Inches
Wokha	1908-09	98 45
Mokokchung	Ibid	99 47
Tamalu	Ibid	98 72
Wokha	1913-14	106·12
Mokokchung ..	Ibid	102 63
Tamalu	Ibid	91 15

The heaviest degree of rainfall at Kohima was perhaps in 1905-06 recorded at 88 19", the average recorded from 1902-03 to 1906-07 being 80".

[1] (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vo. XLIII Part II, Physical Science No III, 1874 pp 146-148)

'D'

The Flora of the Naga Hills closely resembles that of Sikkim up to the same altitude below 2,000 ft the low-level jungle consists mostly of plants belonging to such genera as Ptciosperum, Columbia, Gynandropsis, Clansena, Erythropalum, Lepionurus, Cardiopteris, Lophopetalum, Vitis, Leea, Uraria, Alysicarpus, Desmodium, Pac, Dalbergia, Bauhinia, Sonerila, Ammannia, Modecca, Trichosanthes, Momordica, Cucumis, Melothria, Tpladiantha, Ggnostemma, Begennia, Aralia, Brassidopsis, Heydyotis, Polyura, Psychotria, Paederia, Ardisia, Pemtasacine, Cynanchum, Mitreola, Argyreia, Poranam, Solanum, Lindenbergia, Lysionotus, Didymocarpus, Stauranthera, Thunbergia, Barleria, Eranthemum, Orthosiphon, Chloranthus, Hedyachium, Hitchenia, Zingiber, Taccam Dracaeina, Commelinaceae, Adiantum, Pteris, Nephorodium, Arrostichum. The slopes from 2,000 ft. to about 5,000 feet are chiefly under rice cultivation. From 5,000 ft to about 8,000 feet the vegetation is composed for the most part of plants belonging to the genera Clematis, Thalictrum, Micbelia, Stephania, Berberis, Viola, Polyagala, Cuenbalus, Hypericum, Sauruja, Eurya, Sohima, Geranium, Toddalia, Euonymus, Gonania, Acer, Prumis, Spiraea, Rubus, Pyrus, Photinia, Sedum, Circaes, Passiflora, Hudrocotyle, Sanicula, Bupleurum, Pimpinella, Heptapleurum, Viburnum, Opniorrhiza, Anaphalis, Senecio, Cuicus, Lactuca, Campanula, Vaccinium, Lysimmohia, Crawfrudia, Swertia, Scrophularia, Pedicularis, Elsholtzia, Polvgonum, Litsaea, Lindera, Bilea, Elatostmma, Betula, Abrus, Quercus, Pinus, Smilax, Carex, Arundo, Arundinella, Brachypodium, Hymenophyllum, Davallia, Pteris, Aspidium, Polypodium, Osmunda, Equisetum Above 8,000 feet occur such plants as Aconitum, Skimmia, Ilex, Acer, Spiraeain Rubus, Cotoneaster, Sedum, Epilobium, Vicatia, Pimpinella, Gamblea, Senecio, Ainsliaea, Cyannanthus, Vaccinium, Gaultheria, Rhododendron, Lomaria, Polypodium.

'E'

List of birds collected by Godwin Austen in 1870-73 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XLIII, Part II No 31874, pp 150-181).

1. Limnaetus Kienerii, de sparpehawkeagle
2. Glaudicium brodlaei.
3. Hirundu gutturelis.
4. Nycturous Athertoii, jard and selby.
5. Eurystomus Orientalis which frequent the large tanks at Dimapur
6. Homrains bircornis, lin (hornbill species near Telhzo peak) and Dhansiri valley.
7. Picus cathpharius.
8 Hypopicus Hyper-Ythrus.
9 Venilla Pyrrhotis.
10. Aethopyga Ignicauda.
11. Dicaeum Charysorhoeum
12. Pachyglossa malanoxanitha
13. Certhia Nepalensis
14. Sitta Nagaenis.
15. Tehitrea Affinis.
16. Muscicapula Superciilaris
17. Erythrosterna Sordida.

18. Siphia Erythraca (a rare bird below Japfu)
19. Erythrosterna Maculata.
20. Planestıcusy Fuscatus.
21. Paradoxornis Austeni.
22. Pomatorhinus Ruficollis.
23. Gurralax cerulatus.
24. Trochalopterum Cineraceum (or Lehu ın Angamı).
25. Actinodura Waldeni.
26. Sibia pulchella.
27. Ructicilla Aurorea
28. Oothotomus flavovirids.
29. Neornis Assimılıs.
30. Refuloides Chaloronotus.
31. Abrornis castancoceps.
32. Minla Ignotineta.
33. Proparus Vınıpectus.
34. Ixulus castanicepa.
35. Ynhıma Nicrımentum
36. Sylviparus Modestus.
37. Cegithalicus Erythrocephalus
38. Parus Monticolus.
39. Corvus culminatus.
40. Urocissa Magnirostrıs.
41. Passer Cinnamoıneus.
42 Emberiza Fucata.
43. Alsocomus Punieeus (wood pıgeon)
44. Cenornıs Blythii all over the Baraıl and Paona peaks.
45. Turnix Dissumirrı.
46. Casarca Leucoptera.
47 Ephiates.
48 Mıcropternus Phaioceps
49. Cyanops Asiatıca.
50. Tardullus Pallens.
51. Phyllornis Cochın Chınensıs.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

THE ancient history of Nagaland is shrouded in obscurity. According to traditions, Southern Nagaland afforded a land-route to tribes migrating from Burma *via* Manipur hills through which, a passage was made by tribes who preceded the present people to the Patkoi mountain. The other preceding tribes are described to have Austric and Karen affinities. An Angami tradition which gives corroboration states that Piphema and Kigwema were among the original Karen villages, but possibly the Angami preponderated so that the Karens were diffused elsewhere. But another tradition holds that Angami and Karen were close kinsmen who lived together. The Karens of Kigwema and Piphema are said to have practised megalithic rituals and made several stone weapons, celts, basins, and grinding stones. Probably Karens who are found scattered near Borpathor and in Sibsagar may have had historical links and kinship with the parent Karen group who once made their home in Nagaland.

Traditions also clearly indicate that the Semas, the close neighbours of Angami, with whom they were closely allied on the north and east, were not aboriginal. Up-till now, the stories told are of the cultivators in the Sema area who came across ornamental beads and conch-shells and at times ruins of dismantled buildings which lay buried inside the earth. It is difficult to identify the preceding race in the Sema country but it is possible that it belongs to the same preceding race which once made its home in the Angami territory.

The exact date of the migration of the present tribes to Southern Nagaland is not known. A tradition in vogue amongst the Angami, the Rengma, the Lotha and the Sema is that their forefathers came together in one migration and reached their present abode *via* Manipur from Burma. The Lotha, the first who entered Nagaland *via* Mao, were followed by the Sema who came by the southern route, but the latter may have halted at Kigwema, whose traditions are still vivid about that place connected with their migration. Rengma and the Angami were the last. Another common tradition in southern Nagaland associates the Ao with this historic migration who preceded the other four tribes, but it is contradicted by the Aos who uphold that their origin lay in Chungliyimti (in modern Tuensang) before they migrated to Ungma and

spread to other places. And the Ao tradition does not go further than Chungliyimti. The tribes, although with separate identities from each other, claim that they have emerged from the four paternal ancestors who were brothers. It was at the foot of Japfu, these tribes, another tradition says, selected the different routes of migration before they ensconced themselves in their present respective homelands. A tradition further refers to a great havoc which occurred in their ancient homeland causing this migration to be undertaken simultaneously and as well as the treaties and pledges entered into by the tribes to cling together in this wandering and to live as one people when they came into their new settlement.[1]

There are stories which state how the Nagas came to Nagaland. According to the Rengmas, their forefathers came in search of metals; the Lothas maintain that they selected their present territory because of the availability of crags which were to be extracted in connection with their megalithic erections. The Angamis came in search of terrace fields which were developed along the precipitous slopes. There is a tradition among other Nagas that their forefathers came here in search of plumes for the purpose of ornamentation and decoration.

Many stories regarding the earliest stages of settlement are worthy of notice which connect Khezha-Kenoma[2] towards the south with the migration of the Lotha, Sema, Chakhesang and Rengma tribes. It was here, traditions say, that they split in separate migrations. First the Lotha went northwardly to Aongsha where they spread in that land and settled finally. It was at Tsegwenyu that Semas halted and thence broke eastwardly. The Rengma proceeded as much far as Tseminyu where they established themselves. The Angamis spread north and north-westwardly from Khezha-Kenoma whilst Chakhesang selected an eastern terrain. Both went no further. Chakhesang described to be eastern Angami by the British officials is not appropriate because Khezha and Chakru (Chokri) stemmed out from the first Sema wave of migration but these groups have adopted customs and cultural practices from Angami and became admixed with them through interrelations and marriages. Western Chakhesang are

[1]We come across a similar tradition of the Tangsa Naga-Singpho migration from Burma to modern Tirap bordering on the north of Tuensang which attributes the same factor of a simultaneous migration on the basis of the treaty made by the two tribes. But as the Tangsa violated it at the river Khwen (Kyendwen), it led to a fighting amongst them.

[2]One Chakhesang group is still known by the same title *Khezha*.

bilingual and until the latest census, a large Chakhesang section knew both Sema and Angami but while Chakhesang still retain stone culture, it is no longer practised by the Semas. Many place-names in proper Chakhesang sound more Sema than Angami. At Chakru area, the first Sema immigrants are fabled to have settled before they ensconced in Tuensang and Mokokchung in large swarms. Before Independence, the Chakru, Khezha, Sangtam and Eastern Rengma (Meluri) groups were merged together for forming the present Chakhesang tribe. Sangtam is an offshoot of the parent Sangtam tribe lodged in central Tuensang as Meluri is a branch of Rengma proper located north of Angami. But Sema and Sangtam still live together in many places whilst in eastern Chakhesang, the Meluri and the Pochuri groups had developed other cultural relations.

It is known that even amongst the Eastern Chakhesangs themselves, there are certain marked differences in respect of dress, language and other cultural factors. For instance Meluri group, hitherto known during the British times as *Naked Rengma* with the offshoots at Swemi and Laphori, have little affinities with the Southern Sangtam group scattered in Temini and Primi although at the latter are found also some Rengmas. The Sangtam is said to have more affinities with the Lothas. The Sangtams unlike their neighbours practised tattooing. But all these tribes called themselves *Pochuri* since the early times which may suggest that, as previously mentioned, they were processed to a more vigorous integration for a common protection.[1] Meluri group believed that they belonged to the Salari, a division of a tribe. The important Rengma dialect is Teburi (Swemi) while Akhegho is the important Sangtam dialect. The Temini dialect is called Chezorr. All these groups of tribes are again divided into exogamous sub-groups just like Rengma and Angami.

According to another tradition, Sapo, Kechu and Khuri (with respective abbreviations, Po, Chu and Ri) were the three ancestral clans who ensconced in the present eastern Chakhesang terrain and settled respectively at Ruwari, Tsikusu-Meluri and Thiwati areas. The stories preserved are of the emigration of a group of Ruwari to Burma *via* Thangkhui and of Khuri to the valley in Burma *via* the slopes of Saramati (Maraho) to escape the enemy's exploits. It is believed that they had left a strain of their parental lineage group in Burma and that they have Kachin affinities.

History is not to become complete unless we lay some emphasis on the Rengma migration and their diffusions. Proper Rengmas today, as we may call, are found to inhabit the land surrounded by Angamis on the south, the

[1] Against Kuki and Lhosiapu Nagas

Lothas on the north and the Semas on the east but a group long ago went to ensconsce in the eastern Chakhesang extremities while a group was diverted to Borpathor area in the outlying plains. Intervening tribes are between the Rengma in northern Kohima and Meluri. According to a tradition, a Rengma batch went eastwardly when chasing a white muskin which they lost on a trail, but according to another story, they happened to go so far in search of the brine springs for the purpose of salt excavation. Till today the Tizu valley is known for the local manufacture of salt from the brines but monopoly of salt trade from the plains in the west had passed to other tribes. The Meluri group may have fought with the Sema and the Nagas of the adjoining Burmese highlands, but in spite of adversities, they continued to preserve themselves. But a story told is also of the Meluri-Pochuri alliance against their enemy. The Meluri Rengmas started in an eastwardly trail from *Kitane* in northern Kohima District. Mills' narration of the reception of a deputation of the Meluri group at the foot of Therugu hill on northern Kohima district about 1935 is worth quoting: "Welcome. You are our brethren. We are of one stock. We know that you left us long ago; but the fields, the rocks and the trees of your land are still yours as well as ours. It is because you live so far away that you cannot use them. Eat with us and drink with us now, and when you return to your country, go in peace."[1]

Reaching the eastern Chakhesang terrain, they found that Pochuri-Sangtam group had been in possession of the brines but by the treaty which followed the Meluri group was allowed to handle salt trade. One tradition notes that the other branch broke off from Aongsha to the plains and came to inhabit the Rengmapani banks where their colonies still survive[2]. Another tradition states that they had migrated to Dimapur through which place, iron implements were from the hills supplied to the plains. During an Ahom invasion of Dimapur about the 15th century they had to flee northwardly towards Golaghat. At the last century their settlement was located between Kaliani and Dhansiri scattered in 32 villages. In 1848, the Mikir Hill Rengmas numbered 689 households scattered among 32 villages In 1884, Rengma mouzahs were 7 with 8 villages and 350 houses. Long ago (1855) Butler wrote: "In physiognomy they differ but little from the Cacharee tribes, and many had married Cacharee and Assamese wives " A few have adopted a plainsman's dress and ways of life considering the circumstances to which they were placed and the necessary adjustments which they made. These Rengmas are known as *Nzong Teri*

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[1] *The Rengma Nagas*, p 8

[2] The area was hitherto included in Mikir Hills Sub-division

Pheny or *Ntenyi Awi Khiya* after the dense cane jungle bordering on the plains.[1]

The Zeliangroung came at a later wave of migration, constituted of Zemi, Liangmai and Roungmai allied to the Kabui Naga tribe who came by the Barail southwardly route; hordes of the first immigrants are said to have traversed through the impassable mountain region along the Barak in avoiding conflicts with the other tribes and ensconced in the western mountain tracts where they made their home. Probably they came in search of brines. Only this tribe came alone, not having joined the other body of migration. Yet many powerful Zeliangroung villages are said to have an admixed Zeliangroung-Angami parentage. Even Razephema is said to contain Zeliang strain in its original background. These Nagas were known as *Kacha*[2] during the early British advent which in Angami *Ketsa* means deep forests, hence *Kacha* after *Ketsa*, the word used for the place.[3]

Origin:– The origin of the Nagas is a vexed question. Nagaland exhibits racial inter-mixtures in a great range, it forms a meeting centre of the Himalayan, Burmese, Japanese, Thai, Malaysian, Philippinian, Polynesian, Indonesian and Melanesian cultures; its history preserves instances of assimilations and of fusions in blood and race among the varied tribes. The Nagas point out to the association of their parent tribes with the sea-shore. In 1874 Butler at the head of an exploration expedition party was told by the people at Tesophenyu (Rengma) that they had ruled 'the coast for ages'. The Nagas are still used to wearing conch-shells, as part of their ornamental dress, a prominent feature of the people who live on the shore. There is a tradition that some Naga tribes came a long way from Indonesia, and some, as far as from the Philippines.[4]

It is interesting to note that the Angamis have got certain affinities with the Igarots in the Philippines with regard to the terrace-cultivation, while head-hunting propensities rampant amongst the Nagas might have had something in common with the Dyaks of Borneo, while again with the latter, other similar ties have been noticed in respect of the village arrangements and the styles of buildings, as also in certain slight affinity in language and in the love

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[1] That Rengma has extended from eastern Chakhesang to Borpathar in the west of course with gaps in the hills, show they were once a virile and industrious people.

[2] These Nagas like to be called Zeliangroung, so that the three sub-tribes Zemi, Liangmai and Rongmai are accurately represented, instead of Zeliang used in the present official nomenclature.

[3] The word is therefore a misinterpretation as the Zeliangroung people were not consulted about a genuine title. During the Zeliangroung rebellion (1931-32), Zemi was substituted for Kacha.

[4] *Religion and Society*, Vol IX, December 196?, p 57 H. Barch on Christian conversion and transformation in the hill areas of Assam

of the tribes for marine ornaments, shells etc.[1] A striking similarity is thus narrated—"The well-defined nose (of the Angami) is a prominent characteristic as it is of the inhabitants of Polynesia."[2] The megalithic erections which exhibit characteristic feature of the Naga culture have close parallel with those of Indonesia whereas their wood-carving and architectural designs bear similarity to those of the Maoris of New Zealand.

Other affinities further among the Nagas and yet the more distant tribes, the aborigines of Melanesia, have been noticed in respect of head dress (including decorations of plumes), the use of coral shells for ornamentation and the similar style of spears.

New Guinea's tribes were head-hunters like the Nagas, carrying tasselled chains which symbolise the number of heads thus taken by the carrier. In addition all the Melanesian and Polynesian tribes make carved images of wood like the Nagas.

The renowned linguists have assigned the principal languages—Rengma and Angami—to Tibeto-Chinese family, group—Naga, sub-group—Western Naga, but Kuki, an entirely different linguistic type, has been assigned to the Kuki-Chin of the Northern Chin-Thadou-Kuki group.

A fusion of the waves of immigration which pushed overland from the east is a noticeable feature. Robinson in 1841 wrote—"While a number of the Naga tribes migrated from the east probably during the sanguinary conflicts which took place between the different members of Tartar dynasties in the 14th and 15th centuries, others may, for like political reasons, have been driven into the vastness of these hills from Assam and Bengal and brought with them the language very different from each other. Thus whilst some of the tribes may have dialects from a common source, others speak languages of perfectly distinct stocks." (*Descriptive Account of Assam*, pp. 351-352). This finds corroboration in the tradition of the Lothas which locates their original home somewhere between Tibet and Burma Racially the Mikir matches very close to the Rengma or a Zeliangroung Naga, with strong Bodo formation, of darker complexion, of smaller stature, but muscular enough while an Angami with a more medium complexion, with a taller stature, square shoulder, and a more stalwart physique looks like a Thai of South-East Asia. Even more handsome is the Chakhesang with a more brownish complexion and like Angami about 5 to 6 feet in height. Northern tribes who use log drums are akin to the Melanesian

[1] L. W Shakespear, *History of the Assam Rifles*, p 14

[2] *Man in India*, July-December, 1934.

who make the same style of drums.[1] It is not a matter of great doubt that Zeliangroung might have assimilated other Bodo groups scattered in Cachar District, Tripura and parts of East Pakistan. Their wind instruments are similar to those used by the sub-Himalayan Bodos.

A Negroid or Negrito substratum is very strong among the western tribes—the Zeliangroung and Rengma—although evidently they have admixed Mongoloid features. This strain is current in the oceanic world. Its eminent feature is the dark skin and curly hair. But it is widespread in Melanesia, the Philippines and Indonesia. They might have absorbed Austro-Asiatic elements also which preceded the present tribes. It is believed in the case of Sema that they may have had at one time close links with Fiji island although they have admixed Bodo linguistic and racial affinities.

Thus then all these southern tribes of different origins, linguistic and racial affinities came together in one migration when they emerged to their present home. Perchance for reasons, such as a common protection against their pursuing foe, they sank down their differences and on the basis of the old treaties, they established their co-existence which still lasts and is still honoured to this day so that common cultural aspects, traditions, institutions are traceable especially among the southern tribes. But at times according to the other traditions, internecine feuds also flared up amongst them.

Kukis were the last of the tribes who reached quite more recently and are known as Aishen when they emerged from Manipur. They came to Manipur *via* the Arakan At first they went towards Meluri but later on were diverted to the Zeliangroung terrain where they settled and later on spread westwardly. Many villages recently have been abandoned by them when they have migrated to other places. They constitute a northern Thadou-Kuki-Chin group.

It is not known for how many generations Nagas have settled in their present land. Antiquarian remains such as stone monuments, some of them very old, would suggest that they have been established here for 10 centuries. In 1875, James Johnstone was told at Chumukedima (a latest Angami village) that the people had settled there for seven generations, which approximately covered 500 years. Some stone memorials in the Rengma area which are household burial places are said to have existed for 15 generations.

Mediaeval history (Relations with Kachari): --The early Naga history is hitherto an unrecorded past. History however became more enlightened by

[1] Log-drums are very similar to the canoes, an assumption which might hold true that the forefathers of Naga were once a sea-faring people

the close of the 14th century owing to the emissary and cultural relations which had grown up with the Kacharis whose capital was Dimapur (at present a north-western sub-divisional headquarters in the district). We find a reference as early as 1375 A.D. to one Khasi expatriate who fled from Jaintia Hills and came to Dimapur and later on became admixed with the Angami. A well known sculptor, he was called *U Sajar Nangli.* Thus the story is told in 1875—"500 years ago, since the younger brother of the reigning Raja of Jaintia became enamoured of his (Sajar Nangli's) niece, forcibly seizing her, he fled with some followers from Jaintia to Dimapur, then the residence of the Kachari Rajah, but his brother having sent out a large force to capture him, fled to the hills in the vicinity of Dimapur, known to us as the Angami Hills and being accompanied by several Kacharis, as well as by his own followers, permanently established there. The Angami women adhere to this day to a particular manner of wearing the cloth tied each over the shoulder, adopted by the Jaintia women on the frontier"[1]. The same mode of wearing an apron of this kind is common among Chakru and Khezha and perhaps other Naga women on the south. According to another tradition, the above fugitive with a multitude of his followers, all male, fled to Burma *via* the modern Chakhesang tract,[2] sowing the seed of pine trees wherever he reached.

Amicable and at times strained relations were cultivated among the Angamis and Kacharis. A fortress whose remains are still lying scattered about at Dimapur is said to have been constructed by a Kachari king to protect the city from the raids of Angami warriors. A certain king, Krishna Chunder, is said to have fought several battles with them. Dimapur was a flourishing city. Several industries such as textile, cotton ginning and pottery sprang, the manufactures of which were sent to Golaghat and Rangpur. There were Rengma colonies in Dimapur's suburbs. The Rengmas were then brilliant sculptors, and made stone inscriptions of arrows. They supplied steel made implements to the Kachari and obtained salt in return. It is said that Kacharis handled intermediary trade in iron implements and weapons with Zeliangroung. Cultural assimilations resulted. Oblong V-shaped stone pillars of the Kacharis at Dimapur closely correspond to the similarly V-shaped posts protruding from the roof of the house of a wealthy Angami person. The posts stand as a female symbol, but sometimes are an attribute of cows' sacrifice among the Nagas whereas a bulbous topped post (commonly standing erect

[1] *J A S B*, Part I, History. Literature, No IV, 1875, p xi.

[2] H Bareh, *History and Culture of the Khasi People*, p. 75 Chakhesang pines belong to a type of *pinus Khasya* (now called *pinus insularis*).

at the Ao and the northern Naga festivals), an attribute of the Naga mithun sacrifice, represents a male symbol. In addition in a group of these stone monuments, within a fortress, there are rough dolmens just hewn out of boulders in an Angami, Lotha or Rengma style. All the megalithic rituals governing the erection of these posts were originally Naga although in the hands of Kachari sculptors, carvings on the oblong pillars of different animal figures and flowers were imprinted which again have Kachari-Hindu symbolism. With the megaliths were associated the tanks among the Nagas; the *Jor Pukhuri*, in the vicinity, a twin tank, is attributed by Prof. J. H. Hutton to a fertility significance based on the Naga belief that a pair is a unit of nature, a principle followed in the erection of monoliths and the observance of other ceremonies.[1] Similar patterns of stones were noticed at Chumukedima in the foothills on the Dimapur-Kohima road where above it starts an ascent to the hills. Thus the megalithic culture of the Nagas had influenced their neighbouring people.

As Dimapur is our starting point, it deserves a brief emphasis The monoliths, hitherto described, vary from 13 to 16 feet in height and in circumference 14 feet to 23 feet. The walls of the fortress are of brick, 12 feet high and 6 feet thick but the entire walling has fallen out and only a small part is seen standing near the entrance where there is a gate entered by an archway resembling a Naga style of gates. The first Ahom invasion of Dimapur occurred in 1490 A D. but the force was repulsed at the Doyang valley. It was in 1536 that Dimapur was again attacked when Detsing, the Kachari king was killed. The city was sacked, many buildings were entirely destroyed and its greatness was gone to oblivion. The Kacharis fled to Maibong where they came into closer contact with the Zeliangroung Nagas. It was during the battle that the Rengma king called Nzon Tegibo Raja was slain while the remainder of his tribe fled northwardly near Golaghat and later on cultivated other relations with the Ahoms.[2]

At this juncture the Angamis from their highlands pushed themselves to the foothills settling at Chumukedima and around. The Angamis have a tradition of their war with the other tribes in Mikir and North Cachar.[3]

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[1] *J A S B*, Vol XXV, p 294

[2] Rengmas have a tradition that their king called Dimak ruled Dimapur and the Doyang valley. Even a portion of Hill Rengmas paid tribute in weapons to him According to one story they once gained mastery over an area through which flows Rengmapani or Zubzac, a tributary of Doyang called after their tribe, a river with its upper reaches near the Kohima hills Dimak may be an equivalent of Dima, a Kachari word which means river

[3] Government records however have preserved various stories of Angami raids in North Cachar, Sibsagar and Manipur and the resulting havocs They levied black-mail upon the bordering Kachari villages and put extortionate demands upon other weaker tribes (*Judicial Department*, Sept 1825) James Johnstone, *My Experience in Manipur and Naga Hills*, p 17, in consequence many villages became enormously reduced

The shifting of the capital to Maibong and later on to Khaspur fostered Kachari-Zeliangroung relations, who from time to time interchanged envoys. Interchanges of presents amongst them are also told, the Kacharis giving brass utensils and costumes for shawls and spears for ivory armlets from the Nagas. Some of these presents are still preserved in the Zeliangroung villages. At times the Nagas and Kacharis formed alliances[1]; there are stories of matrimonial alliances also.

During the 16th century A.D., the Ahoms during their march along the Doyang to invade Maibong were obstructed near Dimapur by a great body of the Naga warriors. The Ahoms suffering defeats ordered for more reinforcements from Rangpur and put into action the gallant Miri bowmen and archers to repel the Naga attack.

A scribe who accompanied the expedition has put on record the forty lofty pillars with two cisterns of water in Dimapur along with six other tanks scattered along the city's outskirts. During this incident 300 coolies attached to the expedition were killed by the Nagas who were presumably assisting the Kacharis.

Pre-British history:—In 1822 occurred the Burmese invasion of Assam. The invasion had its impact in Tirap, Nefa and northern Nagaland. Through the Patkoi, the Burmese marched to the Assam valley. It was only the Singpho and Khampti tribes in Tirap and Lohit who gave concrete assistance to the Burmese to establish themselves in an eastern frontier up-till 1840, while Nocte, Wancho and Tangsa Nagas of Tirap sided with the British with a view to averting Burmese-Singpho aggressions, while in the Ao and the Konyak areas, many Ahoms including royal and noble families obtained shelter receiving a great deal of material assistance. Wells dug by the Ahom refugees are still to be seen in a few Ao villages. Through Manipur the Burmese made another passage. Southern Nagaland may perhaps have been affected and there are stories that hill tribes rendered assistance to Manipur. The war was over in 1825-26 with the signing of the Yandabo treaty while the British Government and the Manipuri Raja had entered into another separate agreement. Gambhir Singh was a contemporary Raja.

Anglo-Naga relations—Exploration expeditions (1832-1850):—The process of the British advent in the hills was slow. It started with a series of explorations for finding out a regular communication with Manipur through

[1] It is worth-noting that the remains of old Kachari fortress still lie scattered near Chalkot. Bower in *Naga Path* (pp 43-44) conjectures that the Zemi first owed allegiance to the Kacharis, and after their power lapsed to the Angamis. But the opinion is contradicted by the Zeliang tradition while the earliest Government records refer to the Zeliang-Angami feuds.

the hills. But it was also motivated by a policy to counteract the aggressions of the Nagas into the dominion of the East India Company. It was in 1828 that the consolidation of British rule in upper Assam was completed with the head-quarters first located at Rangpur, but transferred later on to Jorhat. In 1830 a road construction with Manipur was devised but it was not until 1870 that it was materialised, four years after the Naga Hills district was constituted. In 1833 a treaty concluded between Manipur and the East India Company provided that—"in the event of anything happening on the eastern frontier of the British territories, the Raja will, when required, assist the British Government with a portion of his troops".

We do not know what actual relations were maintained between the Hill Tribes on the one hand and Manipur or the Ahoms on the other on the eve of the British advent. As early as 1833, the Patkoi and Barail ranges running in a continuous line from the source of Dihing in the extreme east and North Cachar were recognised to be the traditional eastern boundary of British India. This means that the more accessible tribes such as Zehangroung and Angami had owed certain allegiance to the British Government which had then started to consolidate their rule in Upper Assam. However, for certain reasons, the British Government had left the tribes to themselves and had not maintained any influence over their land for the long decades. The Government was quite aware of the troubles involved in introducing a settled government in the Naga Hills. It was not until 1866 that a system of control was started in their country and that too, after the Government had experienced various troubles connected with the tribal raids and depredations into the nearby plains areas classed as British Areas.

A growing need of a communication with Manipur necessitated the taking out of the several surveys in the Naga Hills which started as early as 1832. The first two British explorers were Captain Jenkins and Pamberton who set off from Silchar with a Manipuri levy and traversed the Zehangroung hills. The party was met with heavy resistance near Punglwa during their return. It was only at the point of the sword that they had managed to get through the hills. Theirs was a bold exploration across an inhospitable and difficult mountain terrain full of constant harassments from the side of the war-like Nagas.

In 1833 Lieutenant Gurdon with Gambhir Singh, a Manipur Raja, embarked upon a second expedition. The march was not easy as a strong Naga confederacy had been constituted to oppose and withhold their advance. The party encountered several oppositions. The Manipuris retaliated the Naga

resistance by committing atrocities[1] upon the southern Angami villages. It was probably for this reason that Manipuri-Angami feuds were intense until the formation of Naga Hills District in 1866. During this period Angami raids into Manipur border were numerous.[1]

In 1839 Grange passed along the Zeliangroung route from Asaloo (in Cachar hills) to Birema and thence northwardly to Dimapur. Grange found that slave trade existed in the hills, the slaves carried off were sold by Nagas to the Bengalee dealers at a high price. System of slave trade prevailed in the hills till the formation of Naga Hills District. During an eastwardly march, Grange was received by the chiefs of Khonoma and Mezoma. They agreed to respect a British territory and not to commit acts of violence anywhere outside the jurisdiction of their hills. Other Zeliangroung villages passed through by Grange were Gopale, Mulukie, Jalukie, Balhye, Lukaki and Omoa.

Next year Grange repeated his visit of the hills by journeying from Dimapur to Togwema and across the Japfu range to the south-western extremity. A mishap which occurred was an assault of a detachment of Sepoys at Chumukedima. Grange returned to Chumukedima to punish it. Taking his march up the hills, he was received at Razephema by Karibakri in February 1840. But at the Zeliangroung hills the party was assaulted during their march all along the way. So bellicose was the Naga resistance in the impenetrable cliffs and crags, but due to his own shrewd and capable leadership, he was able to hold his ground against the insurmountable difficulties after supplies were cut off from his reach. At Punglwa, a number of his men was lost. Moreover at Punglwa a Manipuri levy scheduled for meeting were not found as it had gone back to Manipur without meeting Grange. At Zekwera he was similarly exposed to the severe Naga assault and many were either wounded or killed The sepoys were attacked many times on their way before reaching Chumukedima and Dimapur where the wounded persons were left to care. With more reinforcements he again climbed up the hills whence the recalcitrant Angami villages of Piphema, Sirphima, Jotsoma and Mezoma were punished for aiding the Zeliangroung. The Jakhama village also offered a stout resistance after the people had abandoned and burned it completely before shifting to another base of operation to resist the expedition.

In 1841, Lieutenant Bigge visited several Naga villages. He was received at Mezoma, Khonoma and Punglwa when the respective chiefs agreed to

[1] A sculptured stone at Kohima, a carved uplong pillar with a flat stone resting on its base is said to have perpetuated the memory of this incident. The stone was revered by the Manipuris as a divine symbol. The stone has slipped down in a soil erosion recently

settle the demarcation with Manipur. Many Nagas attended the conference held by him, where it is said, written agreements were entered into by Angami chiefs bordering on the British territory promising him to become tributary to the Government. Dhansiri became a recognised boundary. But when Bigge approached Punglwa, he was attacked but, with a larger reinforcement, he successfully thwarted the warriors. The agreements had not much efficacy because they were violated from time to time, although some Nagas had gone as far as Nowgong to repair their friendly relations with the Government.

Bigge further entered into a treaty with Rengmas of Borpathor in Mikir Hills whence they agreed to pay taxes to Government. The former chiefs called Kokotis were restored and they held their allegiance to the Government in the same manner as they did to the Ahoms a decade ago.

In 1844 acts of aggression again precipitated when Mezoma committed depredations on Hajong (Hajoo), an outpost in North Cachar. Brown Wood at the head of the expedition came to punish the village; by this time both Khonoma and Mezoma had also broken up the agreements. Next a Shan outpost at Lunka was raided. These circumstances led to the *first Khonoma war*, Khonoma being invaded by a punitive expedition headed by Captain Eld. The guns seized by Khonoma were returned but the culprits were withheld, in consequence of which, the village with 500 houses was burned. As the expedition returned, Mezoma was attacked by Khonoma because of the assistance rendered to the expedition. Eld also subdued Asalo and Mezoma probably before Khonoma was attacked.

To pacify the Nagas, frequent visits on the part of the European officers were necessitated. In 1845 occurred the visit of John Butler who covered a considerable portion of the country. He was received at Mezoma, Khonoma and Birema where allegiances to the Government were renewed by the chiefs who promised to remain tributary, his efforts being partially crowned with success. At his instance, an outpost at Chumukedima was opened; trade with the Naga villages was extended and communications with Sibsagar were improved. Bhogchand, a renowned Assamese Darogah, was placed in charge of an outpost

In 1846 Butler paid a second visit. This time Mezoma, Jotsoma and other villages rendered their tributes in weapons and costumes. He had covered 277 miles during his journey in the hills. Agreements further with the other Chiefs were made that they paid tributes, tendered oaths of allegiances and stopped fighting amongst themselves. Yet despite his efforts, the agreements being

cemented with the ropes of sand were liable to easy violations. Raids and feuds went on to an intensive scale. In July 1846 occurred a havoc at Birema when *24 persons were killed, 80 persons taken captive, 11 died in a fire and 40 houses were ruined, during a depredation of 200 men of Limbethami (identified with* Kohima). The same village had raided Chumukedima in May 1846. In October 1846, two Nagas evicted from the six months' imprisonment at Asaloo were released in the presence of a large crowd by Butler after he had narrated why were they confined so. In November 1846, Jenkins, the Agent to the Governor-General attributed the cause of such trouble to the scarcity of salt in the hills. Matters became worse when Talukram, a Kachari, prohibited Nagas from excavating salt in Semkur area. Talukram figured during the second Khonoma war in 1849-51.

In 1848 Hajong (Hajoo) was raided when 3 women were slain, their skulls having been brought as trophies with acts of jubilance by the raiders' party. The agreements proved in the face of such troubles to be ineffective. Shortly followed the cleavage among the Angami owing to the land disputes between Jibili of Mezoma and Nihili of Khonoma, the two most war-like villages. It is evident during this time that the internecine feuds were not only connected with the head-hunting but with other economic factors. According to a tradition, large villages were compelled to resort to raids for finding out suitable cultivable lands, and failing that, strong villages were compelled to exact the tributary allegiances of weaker Angami villages and others in Mikir and North Cachar Hills districts. In 1849 Jibili sought Government assistance against Nihili. The British officials were coming to their senses that a mere reliance on the agreements, although written, to avert Naga highlanders' aggressions, was in itself a defective system.

At this juncture, Bhogchand went to Mezoma with forty constables to settle the disputes amongst Mezoma and the village of Dzulekema. But on return, he was rounded off near Jakhama remaining for six days under the siege but on the seventh day he made a miraculous escape when by the use of a strategem the siege was raised against the showers of spears. The entire police escaped while unfortunately the local Naga coolies attached to the expedition were killed.

The quarrel between Jubili and Nihili had involved almost the entire Angami community. Jubili had committed himself to the agreement with the Britishers but Nihili's policy was to exterminate their influence even with Manipuri assistance. So hostile were the chiefs that Bhogchand's offer of mediation to both the parties was of no avail.

Bhogchand's diplomacy however did not stand the test when we find how he entangled himself into quarrels with Nihili shortly after. During the summer time in 1849 he had gone to Mezoma to negotiate with the village elders about opening another outpost in the hills. But when he met Nihili, he ordered him to surrender the culprits who ambuscaded the police on the last occasion at Dzulekema. To this Nihili refused. Thereupon Bhogchand arrested and put to irons two of his men. Bhogchand had further arrested seven Kacharis deputed by Talukram to the assistance of Jubili against Nihili as such a measure was incompatible and inconsistent with the agreement entered into with the Government. Nihili, enraged at Bhogchand's attitude, quickly took a chance to avenge. Bhogchand and twentyone of his men were ambuscaded and killed at Piphema during the night halt. The Nagas of Mezoma then marched to Dimapur and ravaged it killing the sepoys. The Nagas were conscious of an adverse reaction. Nihili made elaborate preparation to face the next British invasion.

Second Khonoma War:—War was inevitable. But the invasion was prolonged from 1849 to 1851 owing to a large-scale preparation and the bellicose resistance of the Nagas. Pelhu, a chief of Khonoma, was in alliance with Nihili but Jubili was pro-British. Grains resulting from the recent harvests (October-November 1849) were stored in granaries within a jungle. Village detence lines were carefully prepared. Guns and muskets were smuggled from Manipur so that when these were discovered during the invasion, Culloch, Political Agent, Manipur, was blamed for his irresponsibility to check up such arms smuggling Pitfalls, panjies, breastworks, and bases of operations were laid round the villages of Mezoma and Khonoma. Weapons were brought from other villages. Barricades were formed outside the villages. A large number of warriors was raised.

The charge of an expedition was entrusted to Captain Vincent who set out from Dimapur in November 1849. At Nichuguard, he was joined by Lt Campbell with a regiment from Cachar. They reached Mezoma but found it impregnable with a large defence operation made in advance. Campbell assumed supervision of the southern territory and succeeded in subduing smaller villages. He had seized at Jotsoma guns and other ammunitions in December 1849. He had destroyed the grains and property belonging to Nihili. He had received tributes from Riga and Krosomi of Chidima; he had compelled tributary allegiances of Kohima and Jotsoma. Duari of Mezoma and others of Jotsoma also had tendered their allegiance. Lt. G. F E. Culloch with the Manipur levies were assisting Campbell but at the later stage on the

6th June, 1850 he had returned to Manipur. Yet the attempts to storm Mezoma were fruitless. Vincent and Campbell had then to retreat to call for more reinforcements.

The force came to the hills again in March 1850. At Chumukedima, it met obstruction but finally it was subdued. In March 1850 occurred a storming of Mezoma. The force at the first encounter was unsuccessful, but with more reinforcements brought, it was subdued after a long siege. Many Naga warriors fell down. The remainder of the population fled to Khonoma to join Pelhu. Mezoma was completely destroyed and the force followed them to Khonoma. The operations on the part of an expeditionary force had however to be protracted until the beginning of 1851 to subjugate the hills completely. The force approached Khonoma. But it was not until the winter season that it was completely subjugated. The position of the village was further strengthened by the joining of a veteran warrior, Cacoma. So much exertion had to be made to overcome the panjies and ditches and other barricades On the 3rd December, 1851 the troops approached the village but during the night, the population had vacated the village. The troops destroyed it and exacted a fine.

On February 5, 1851, Vincent was approached by two messengers of Kikrima who came challenging the troops and invited them to fight, addressing that they had spears and shields as their weapons against the gunshots of the soldiers. "*Your sepoys are flesh and blood. Let us see who are the best. Here is a specimen*", ejaculated one of them pointing a handsome spear to Vincent. The challenge was accepted. Four villages were siding with Kikrima, a most war-like village with one hundred houses. The force came to Kikrima by Kidima. The defence was strong, the battle at first was equally contested but finally Kikrima was reduced. The village was burned and the grains were destroyed. It was the tenth battle fought in the Naga Hills territory and one of the bloodiest battles which occurred in the Eastern Frontier hill regions. On March 6, 1850, Khonoma was again attacked; a portion of its village was ravaged, an event which marked the *third Khonoma war.*

Rebel leaders were meted out severe punishment and some were deported.

The causes of the late uprisings were the following.

(*a*) The inability of Government officials 'to dispense of justice which alienated' feelings of the Nagas to the British Government.

(*b*) The irregular visits which thereby hampered any purpose of building up stable contacts with the Nagas.

(*c*) But Nagas had also cherished a strong desire to carry out plunders and revenge.

An interesting account of the country was left by Vincent who observed that a Naga tribe extending from Birema (Peren) to Asaloo in north Cachar were not the same as those confined to Khonoma and north-east of it, the former being known as *Thongeemah (Tenyimah)* and the latter called *Majehma*. According to Vincent, the Lotha country was within two days' reach from the Angami area, the Lothas being the renowned head-hunters in the Sibsagar plains. The road to Golaghat *via* the hills took eight days' journey. The Angami people knew the Manipuris as *Mukurrcman (Miokreema)* while Assamese were called *Dep-praema (Tephriema)*; two main roads linked this area with Manipur taking four days' journey either from Zeliang or Angami territory. Angami, as the Kacharis thought, meant unconquered. *Muk-pre-ama* denoted those who had entered into an alliance with Manipur, but north-western Angamis who by reason of proximity had closer relations with the Britishers headed by Jubili were *Tippre-mah* who had cultivated deeply-rooted antagonism with Nihili and Pelhoo of Khonoma. Most of the big villages were against the British but smaller villages were prone to accept a limited measure of British protection

Paddy was grown in abundance so that surplus was annually left out. Local dals, *Kesee* (used for brewing) and cotton confined to modern Chumukedima, Razephema, and Mezephema were the other crops. Cows, pigs, dogs, and fowl were domesticated both for the purpose of food and barter. Cattle breed was fine, superior to the Assam's type. Mithuns were reared towards Mezoma, their horns being used as drinking cups, worth five rupees each. Women wove cloths, each village having their own stripes and colour systems. Salt was in great demand. They used a pointed stick, a crooked hoe and dao for the purpose of cultivation. They had great physical strength.

The climate was like that of England, but high winds blew during the spring time, yet the salubrious climate could serve best for a health resort.

Non-intervention:-- The last battle then was followed by a policy of non-interference in the hills and by their exclusion of trade from the plains. The previous agreements entered into by the Naga Chiefs automatically became rescinded In fact the agreements were of no help towards the settlement of relations with the hills as they were being violated from time to time.

In 1851 the Government came to a point of pursuing a cautious policy of non-intervention in their dealing with the Nagas, while simultaneously efforts were made to reconcile them. To quote Dalhousie -- 'Hereafter we should confine ourselves to our ground, protect it as can and must be protected, not meddle

the feuds or rights of those, encourage trade with them as lon peaceful towards us, and rigidly exclude them from all commur to sell what they have got or buy what they want. These are the m are calculated to allay their natural fears of our agression upon repel their aggression upon our people. This will make them f both to repel their attacks and exclude them from advantages tl better, at less cost and with more justice, than by annexing openly by a declaration or virtually by partial occupation." Un policy was motivated by a fear for incurring financial risks in ord an administrative control into the hills coupled by the impera to avert possible encounters with the Nagas.

The policy at the outset was justified by Captain Butler (who 1852 thus: "Since our withdrawal from the Angami hills, the ge of the tribes towards us has been very satisfactory, they have b . . . as far down as Goalpara and they have shown every desir an intimate acquaintance with us." But relations were not to be shortly after this, the pacifist policy proved to be ineffective in t of lives, 31 cases of wounded persons and 62 cases carried off in the Nowgong district between 1852 and 1862. In 1852 Vi Political Assistant in Nowgong, released 2 Naga boys and 2 gi captive by Zeliang Nagas beyond the frontier. In 1854 the Din was abandoned but the North Cachar Hills Sub-division was si constituted to thwart the Naga aggressions.

The account of Naga raids from 1854 to 1866 is interesting.

(1) A Mikir village of Kodgaon, on March 9, 1854 was ass Angamis: then on 12th May followed an assault of Kerrung, village, by Phekerkrima.

(2) By the close of 1854, Phekerkrima alone perpetrated th first being committed at Dimapur-Golaghat road on November 3 being made on a Mikir village near Dimapur on 18th December, being carried out near Golaghat on December 19.

(3) On April 12, 1855, Razephema and Chumukedima, j ravaged the Longpher area in North Cachar.

(4) On 7th November 1855, Razephema perpetrated a raid Dhansiri side.

(5) On the 16th December 1855, an assault against Dimapur by Angamis.

(6) On February 4, 1856, Razephema raided Leondah, a Mi

Naga Stone Pillars

Angami Village Gate

The State Inauguration

Ancient Site of a Village Fortress

Manipuri Memorial Stones

V-Shaped Stone Pillars at Dimapur

Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India at Kohima

Oblong Stone Pillars at Dimapur

North Cachar, causing the loss of seven lives. But the Mikirs afterwards successfully organised their defence by shooting at the intruders with bows and arrows.

(7) In 1856 two raids were committed, the victims being Longpher (on 18th March) and Agooroo (Asaloo) villages (on 5th April) in North Cachar, Khonoma and Mezoma hatched this raid.

(8) A perpetration was also carried out against the Asaloo (Agooroo) post in North Cachar manned by the Nowgong police militia, during which occasion, 4 muskets, 150 packets of ammunitions and other explosives were taken away.

(9) On 10th March, 1858, the Zeliangroung near Birema raided another Zeliang Naga village of Rungai in North Cachar and contended themselves with carrying off 26 persons. The second Assam Light Infantry was immediately despatched to rescue the captives taken off but only 21 were liberated while the head-hunters had escaped carrying away the remainder.

(10) On May 16, 1858, the Khonoma warriors again raided another minor post in North Cachar.

(11) In March 1859, 9 Kikrima Nagas who were detained at Kherani, were reported to have escaped.

(12) In November 1859, the Lothas crossed the Dhansiri and caused a surprise attack upon the Rengma village above Borpathor. But the havildar of the post took prompt action, and the raiders were repelled.

(13) In December the village of Alunki was attacked by the Angamis.

(14) In March 1862, a merciless attack was launched upon the Borpathor guard post, in which four persons named Inamit Ram (one of the guards), one lady (named Miss Pressimai), a village goanbura and a man named Khera were slain. The latter received a hail of about 9 spearings before he fell down to succumb to his wounds. By the end of that month, 1 Angami and 2 Zeliangs remained imprisoned at Nowgong.

The Angami-Zeliangroung feuds which raged this frontier had their incursions as far as Kutha Kuthing near Borpathor resulting in the kidnap of 6 Zeliang elephant tamers, while one lad was kidnapped by the Mezoma Nagas in alliance with Jakhama at the behest of their chief, Nipu.

(15) In May 1862, the Borpathor guard-post was again attacked but a veritable plunder occurred on 29th June at an adjacent village, 8 persons being slain and 2 taken off.

(16) On 25th May 1864, the Zeliang Nagas of Imapaimee fought with the Asaloo village leading to the death of 2 persons of the latter.

(17) Then on March 26, 1865, a batch of Angamis raided a Kachari village of Maipoong Disa. The Asaloo police were taking action to find out the perpetrators, but in vain.

(18) On April 18, 1865, 30 Angami warriors of Razephema raided Linagur (Mehal Rungeelapur), a Mikir hamlet where 7 persons were killed and one was wounded near Dimapur.

Nevertheless, notable were the measures on the part of the Government in the face of this crisis, to check the Naga aggressions. To prevent the raids, Naga Hills were temporarily put to an economic blockade by prohibiting the Naga travellers and traders without permits to visit markets at the plains. In 1859, the officials at Asaloo were instructed to catch such trespassers and confine them. But in 1862, this order being rescinded, many Nagas again were allowed to visit the Nowgong plains in connection with their trade pursuits.

The policy was a failure: "We have not the means of enforcing an effectual blockade of the hills," wrote the Secretary to the Governor-General. The abandonment of the Forward policy was a great blunder and the need for establishing relations with the tribes was felt. Dealing with the Nagas was as complicated as with the Garos (at a contemporary time). It would be a more judicious step to establish regular relations with the Naga Chiefs and persuade them to respect the British territory. Just at this time Razephema is reported to have been on war with Sargamcha perpetrating a cruel massacre of the latter.

Conciliatory measures simultaneously were adopted by opening a salt market in the frontier, by distributing agricultural implements amongst those Nagas living near the foothills, by developing the existing means of communications on the frontier and by pushing tea gardens towards their hills. Many other decisions were adopted to promote friendly relations. Many officials wanted to enter into formal agreements with Naga Chiefs, to settle inter-tribal disputes and to establish the Government influence. These circumstances led to the abandonment of Non-intervention, though excellent it was in theory, as, 'it is not creditable to our Government that such atrocities should recur annually and with varying uncertainty, and that we should not be powerless alike to protect our subjects or to punish the aggressors'.

Formation of the Naga Hills District :—In 1866 the Naga Hills district, therefore, was formed with Samaguting (Chumukedima) as the headquarters, which was to comprise that portion lying to the west of Dhansiri and the country on the south bank of the Doyang, together with the Angami Hills. Asaloo sub-division was abolished and the office establishments were

shifted to Chumukedima. The district, therefore, comprised a portion of Borpathor and N. Cachar.

Administrative arrangement :—The Deputy Commissioner was in-charge of the District, vested with magisterial powers similar to those prescribed by Act V of 1861 for the trial of cases, but those involving more than seven years' imprisonment and heinous crimes were to be referred to the Judicial Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner was assisted by the Assistant Commissioner and was furnished with 150 police men. Office establishments were instituted at the headquarters station and roads were built. Upon the Deputy Commissioner devolved the task in establishing contacts with the surrounding tribes. Lt. John Gregory was the first Deputy Commissioner. Gregory built many roads. A tribal path which still connects Chumukedima and Pedi (in Zeliang) is still called *Janan* road (as mispronounced by the local people). He had already visited the neighbouring villages such as Mezoma, Pherima, Jotsoma, Khonoma and Kohima. In 1868, a party of Razephema in a deputation came to acknowledge their allegiance to the Government with tributes and pleaded for protection against their rival parent village, after establishing a new colony at some distance.

It is important to note that no written engagements when the District formally opened were entered to with the Nagas as in the case of Garos or Abors and other tribes. All the communications with villages were done through headmen, as there was no guarantee that any engagement made by them would be ratified by their clans over which they had little social or political power.[1]

Inter-tribal feuds:—The coming of the administration put a timely intervention to inter-tribal feuds. A quarrel, just before the District was constituted, had broken out between Mezoma (Angami) and Tseminyu (Rengma) but Tesophenyu (another Rengma village) was throwing moral support to Mezoma. In addition a confederacy of 13 Angami villages were fighting with the Manipuris to retaliate the murder of 3 Khonoma traders conducted at the instance of Shipvomi, the Manipuri village. The incident occurred in February 1866, but Government intervened on behalf of the Angami by which Shipvomi was burned.

Then occurred a Lotha perpetration of raid upon an Angami trade caravancy near Hariajan during their return from Jorhat on April 19, 1871. 30 Lothas ambushed the party killing a man named Kissur. The Lothas next advanced to Chumukedima but were dispersed by the station police.

[1] *File No* 394 dt. 30-10-1865.

In May 1871[1] the domiciled Kukis attacked the Zeliang village of Impomai (Lopmah or Lufai). The Deputy Commissioner (Butler) and Godwin Austen in 1872-73 settled the boundary with Manipur.

Exploration Expediton—Formation of Wokha Sub-Division :—The previous survey works had touched only a fringe of the country for exploring the possibility of a road link with Manipur. The work touched only parts of Angami and Zeliangroung country. The coming of the administration necessitated more exploration operations to acquire knowledge of the other surrounding tribes and to decide policies in dealing with them. Thereupon in 1871 a regular survey was started by Captain John Butler in company with Ridgeway, Woodthorpe and Ogge. John Butler was the second Deputy Commissioner, son of John Butler who had opened negotiations with several Naga chiefs, fostered trade relations with them, opened the first police outpost at Chumukedima and entrusted it to Bhogchand's charge. He had written a book entitled *Travels and Adventures in Assam* (1851) which also set some account about Angami-Zeliangroung and their relations and wars with the East India Company up-till 1851.

The report of the exploration expedition in 1873 is interesting and provides another historical background. The survey placed on record the following tribes: Arung, Naia, Kuki, Kacha, Angami, Mao or Sapvomah, Khezha, Zami, Sema and Rengma who inhabit the southern Naga mountain tract. Arung, a branch of Zeliang, a small and peaceful community was confined to North Cachar. Kuki embracing Thaido, Changsen and Singphou clans inhabited the head-waters of Dhansiri with 21 villages, 718 houses and a population of 2,599 souls but had been pressing westwardly to Dhansiri valley while becoming so sparsely distributed south of Kapamezu.[2] Zeliang with 23 villages, 1,284 houses and an approximate population of 6,000 souls were found on both sides of Barail water—parting north to the course of Barak river and in close proximity to Leneu peak, an impassable barrier chain. Punglwa is described thus—"On walking over the village I found it in a regular state of barricade and palisading thrown up in all directions, with a strong stockade surrounding the upper portion of the village, the sides of the hill cut down right across the

[1] During this period, arms and ammunitions were smuggled to Khonoma from Manipur and Cachar as reported by Lt. Col M. Thomson, officiating Political Agent. The Governor-General regretted such occurrences

[2] It was in July 1871 that Captain Butler proposed to include Lungteng colony (Kuki) located on the side of Kacha Naga village of Impemei on the watershed between the Barak river and the Barail range The Kuki *Houshe* (Chief) named Hotting-mang-thade reported to Butler about the Kacha Nagas' aggressions into the Kuki colony. As Butler could not settle the matter in time, the Kukis therefore attacked the Kacha Nagas and ravaged some of their villages At this juncture the Government accepted the Kuki petition for being taken into the British protection.

ridge of the hill, and the whole places so thickly studded with panjies...This is all owing to the Sanomah Khel of Khonoma having made raid upon this village."[1] Angami occupied a most charming country, enjoying a beautiful climate and most fertile soil, well cultivated, drained and manured. The land was more populated than the neighbouring places. For instance Kohima contained 865 homes, Khonoma 545, Viswema 530. *Tengima* was a local name of Angami, while Chumukedima group called themselves *Chakhromah*. There were a total of 46 Angami villages with 6,367 houses and population of about 31,835 souls. South of Angami were the Mao Nagas who assisted Captain Read during the battle in 1850-51 but recently they were transferred to Manipur's jurisdiction. Then there were Khezhami,[2] east of Angami very similar to the latter. The survey next reached the Zami, a group of 5 villages, a branch of Lahupu[3] extending along the eastern terrain. They were more barely dressed than the other Nagas. Then came the Sema on the north-east with 5 villages west of Doyang. The exploration operations became diverted to Rengma area with 7 villages, 2,000 houses and about 10,100 persons in their population.

Simultaneously another survey was exploring the present Tirap and Trans-Patkoi Naga area under Lt. Holcombe.

Up to the close of 1873, there was no Naga opposition to the survey. It was not until 1874 that the survey was confronted with the first opposition in the Rengma territory. Butler had traversed the northern Angami area from Kohima *via* Nerhema, Chiechama now known as Chiephobozou and advanced for Tesopheneyu on January 4. Here the survey was hindered. The route was thickly panjied at an outer row, while nearly one mile above it, a ditch dug out was come across. The party saw the groups of Rengma warriors on the lower spur of the village shouting and yelling. The messengers engaged by Butler to announce their peaceful intention came back, telling that the village was challenging the survey. The Rengmas operated by casting out rocks and sending hails of spears upon the survey party for which the soldiers were ordered to open fire upon the frenzied mob who soon dispersed. The village was abandoned, a part of it was burned by Butler.

The next day Butler with the help of Naga messengers sent for the Rengma men of Tesopheneyu but they did not turn out. The whole village had been camping on an upper hill beyond the deserted village site. Butler proceeded to the camp when half way from the village, he met five unarmed men seeking

[1] *Proceedings Judicial Dept*, Sept 1873.
[2] Corresponding to the modern Chakhesang group
[3] Meluri-Laphori-Eastern Rengma and eastern Sangtam

truce. The Rengma messengers presented an elephant tusk and rendered a fine paid by the undestroyed *Khel* with forty costumes.

Meanwhile the survey work was going on. As John Butler was too busy in the conduct of survey, James Johnstone therefore was placed in charge of the headquarters station for some time. The survey advanced to Wokha but was attacked by the Lothas. A few survey personnel were killed. But the village later on was retaliated.[1]

In 1875, the survey party approached Pangti; Captain Butler with a small group who came in advance fell to the Lotha assault; he succumbed to his wounds after a few days. Woodthorpe and the remainder who were approaching at some distance from behind immediately rushed to the village and destroyed it completely. For these reasons, the Wokha Sub-division conforming to the present southern Mokokchung Sub-division was formed under two British officials with the frontier police. It covered the Lotha region.[2] In 1876-77, the Chief Commissioner visited the Sub-division. But in 1889 Wokha was merged into a newly-formed Mokokchung Sub-division, to protect it from the raids perpetrated by tribes of Tuensang (Konyak, Chang and Phom) located more northwardly.

Mezoma Uprisings 1877:—In 1877 Mezoma raided Samagjoo (Gamaijoo) in North Cachar Hills, in which many persons were killed. A punitive expedition with the 42nd and 43rd Assam Light Infantry and the Naga Hills Police contingents under Mr. Carnegy, Captain Brydon and the Assistant Political Officer, Mr. Savi commenced the siege in the first week of December 1877. But the Nagas held their ground resolutely for a month by conducting a guerilla warfare. In this they were assisted by Jotsoma and Khonoma. They took full advantage of Captain Brydon's forced inactivity by cutting him from his base and by repeatedly threatening the Chumukedima station, but the latter was secured sufficiently by a garrison. Captain Brydon against the impending difficulties raised a stockade at Mezoma guarded by a part of the troops, while the remainder was diverted to the road construction with the Chumukedima headquarters.

Meanwhile fresh reinforcements under Lt. MacGregor reached Mezoma on 9th January 1878. At this stage, the Angamis called off their operations and made peace with Government. It was during these desultory fightings that Carnegy,

[1] At this juncture, Butler was called in to join the expedition for punishing the Wancho Nagas of the village of Ninu in modern Tirap for killing Holcombe at the head of the topographic survey. On return, Butler joined the survey in the Lotha country, but was murdered shortly after.

[2] Wokha village was the sub-divisional headquarters.

the English military official, was accidentally killed by one of his own sentries. In consequence of the siege, Mezoma became reduced, the village was fined.

Lt. H. Maxwell, officiating Political Officer, remarked thus on the contumacious Naga attitude: "They refused to submit till reduced to extremities and till their submission gave an expeditionary force trouble and annoyance. At length they agreed to the terms offered by the officiating Political Officer, Captain Williamson and thus the expedition concluded."[1] Yet, as shall be seen, Mezoma became the moving spirit of the final Angami freedom struggle which precipitated in 1879.

Razephema-Nakhuma feuds:—In 1878 Razephema and Nakhuma (Zeliang) village quarrelled, 34 traders of the former being beaten. Razephema, however, managed to get Government intervention, the result being that Nakhuma was fined. According to C. H. Damant, the Government in the face of the repeated uprisings and unrest, was forced to maintain their position purely on the force of arms.

Shifting of the headquarters:—In 1878, the district headquarters was shifted to Kohima,[2] which was acquired without difficulty, the object in view being to keep effective control over the insurgent tribes, Kohima being more centrally situated. Chumukedima climate was moreover insalubrious and therefore unsuitable for the purpose of headquarters.[3]

Expansion of the administration at the contemporaneous time:—

In 1878-79, the district[4] had

30 Rengma hamlets.
30 Mikir hamlets,
18 Kachari hamlets,
23 Zeliangroung villages,
120 Angami villages,
40 Lotha villages.

About 800 Assamese and 170 Aitonias (Karens) resided in the District.[5] Available records however show that the Rengma mouzahs in Mikir Hills and Golaghat were incorporated in the administration of Naga Hills District at this period and taxes collected from Borpathor and Rengma mouzahs were credited to the district's accounts.[6] It was a few years after (1885) that the proposal

[1] *Annual Administration Report of the Naga Hills Political Agency for 1877-78.*

[2] Wokha, hitherto proposed to be the site for the capital being abandoned in favour of Kohima

[3] Acquisition of Kohima is said to have been the main cause leading to an uprising in 1879 when Kohima became a battle-field

[4] *Report by C. H. Damant on the administration of the Naga Hills for 1878-79.*

[5] *Foreign Proceedings of the administration of the Naga Hills for 1884-85*

[6] Rengma chiefs are called *Kakatis* in the plains

to transfer these villages to the Nowgong District or the Golaghat Sub-division was expedited.

It is also worth noting that in 1870, Butler confirmed the previous agreements made with the plains Rengmas and a more regular administration was settled in their country.

The last Angami rebellion:—Another important incident in 1879 was the final Angami uprising which lasted for six months. It was evident that a group of the war-like Naga villages was opposed to any measure of administrative control being established in their land, in fact many warriors resented the coming of the administration as it had closed down the chapter of their exploits. Thereupon Mezoma, Khonoma and others hatched a conspiracy to stage a final insurrection against the British Government. Even Chakhesang villages joined the movement. Measures were also adopted to force other reluctant villages to join, a large number of fire-arms was smuggled into the hills and in 1877, the village of Thisami was punished for refusing to join Mezoma. In 1879 the post at Piphema was attacked but the warriors were repelled by the guards. And Mezoma, although largely exhausted during the late uprisings, was still bent upon exerting pressure to undo the administration. Elaborate preparations were made by the Angami Naga confederacy to shackle the British hold in their land.

On October 13, 1879, Mr Damant, Political Officer, went on a visit to Khonoma with an escort of 87 men. He had gone there to enquire into the late troubles of Khonoma with other villages but while entering the village gate, his escort was taken by surprise and assaulted. Mr Damant was killed; out of 87 persons, only 50 men (19 being wounded) could escape to Kohima, 37 being killed.

More exciting events now began. Khonoma warriors rushed immediately to Kohima; the station was besieged. But the Kohima garrison, a force with 90 Frontier Police personnel (under Subedar Mema Ram and Jemadar Kurun Singh) and with 80 Rifles under Captain Reid, managed in the covers of daily firings and showers of spears, to hold their ground, with yet all the broken palisades, the improvise stockades and the delicate gates. Great efforts were made by the garrison, when the station was stormed at renovating all the defence lines, many women with their families secured shelter inside the sheds. For 12 days long, the station remained shut out from the outside world, and the families had to go half-starved as all the food-stuffs were exhausting gradually. It is said that the warriors had acquired 500 guns for its storming. Messengers engaged to convey the message to other Government headquarters were intercepted on

their way by the warriors, but fortunately messengers who carried the news to Wokha got through. The news received, Mr Hinde from Wokha rushed to Kohima with a contingent; the Nagas were aware of his approach, and had made preparations to resist; but with the exercise of great skill and caution by avoiding the villages and by marching at night, he escaped all the dangers that threatened him, and finally with some assistance from the friendly clans of Kohima, marched into the stockade without the loss of men.[1] But his personnel were inadequate to meet the situation as they had come without baggage sufficiently. The groups of thatched houses would have been gutted by the fire bearing spears, but the soldiers with the help of the water pumps put out the fire. A story told is about the poisoning of the water sources during the siege but many friendly Nagas provided food-stuffs and water to the station through devious paths.

It was with the arrival of Lt. Colonel Johnstone, Political Agent, Manipur on October 26, with the force equipped largely with the Manipuri levies, the Cachar Police and the 34th Native Infantry that the station was relieved and the warriors dispelled. The belligerent Chopunuma Khel of Kohima was punished and fined.

During these skirmishes, the Kohima garrison had obtained a great deal of assistance from their friendly Angamis who managed to despatch the message to the other nearby headquarters about the fate of the station. The Nagas who sided with them provided information as regards the strength of the belligerent Nagas and their camps. The Manipuri Raja who helped for quelling the movement was awarded the title of KCSI by the Government.

An elaborate programme now to crush the uprisings was chalked out. Brigadier General Nation commanding in Assam was given a free hand to cope with the situation, equipped with detachments of the 42nd and 43rd Assam Light Infantry, the 44th Sylhet Light Infantry, the Manipuri Levies and the Military Police. The first line of action was directed toward cutting the belligerent villages off Khonoma. On 14th and 15th November, the village of Sachima (Sechuma) was quelled by Colonel Nuthall, yet so resolute was its resistance that fresh reinforcements had to be solicited and on the 16th, it was curbed by Major Evans with the 43rd Native Infantry who lately came upon the scene

But Khonoma remained impregnable for many months and its occupation was protracted owing to the strong defence lines made by the veterans of this war-like village; the defence operations were described thus 'the whole

[1] Maitland, *Report on the Naga Hills expeditions*

place was a mass .... of entrenchments within entrenchments, so that an entrance gained at any point only gave possession of a small area, and as the hill rose to the centre, the inner entrenchment successfully commanded those below. Outside, the ground visible from the wall, had been cleared of jungle and covered with shape of panjis and bamboo entanglement, similar obstacles being also set in front of the inner defences.'[1]

On November 22 was started the veritable assault of Khonoma, in which the 44th Regiment played a distinctive role. Under its operations, a column gained ground of the north end of the village and that too after encountering resolutely an overwhelming shower of stones and missiles. Another column which advanced from the south-east had to persist upon the Naga ambushes. With those advances the army had made, the Nagas shifted to the top of the Chaka spurs where they made their next base of operations. The storming of the Chaka forts however had to be postponed, when reinforcements were being awaited from outside the District. Two out of the six English officers, Lt. Forbes and Major Cock[2] were killed during the assault. At the Khonoma and Sechuma villages temporary military posts were kept. During the following months, Nagas operated against supply convoys, traffic and outposts and carried out three valiant raids into Chumukedima.

Towards the close of January 1880, the warriors poured out a raid into Baladhun tea garden in North Cachar across the impenetrable steeps along the Barak, where eventually, they put to death Mr Blyth, the tea estate manager, along with a number of the garden coolies, and came home with an enormous loot. Next they seized the ration convoy near Punglwa.

In March 1880 the army was directed to crush finally the belligerent warriors whose camp was at the Chaka fort, but before they were reduced, Khonoma men tendered their allegiance to the Government on the 27th March. Thus another chapter of Khonoma's exploits closed down.

The village being now reduced, it was made subject to severe penalties, by expatriating part of its inhabitants into other villages, by exacting forced labour from the remainder for the construction of buildings and roads and by confiscating its arable lands and distributing them to other agricultural communities.

Other incidents:--Among other events worth of note at the close of the last century were the punitive expeditions undertaken against Tetcholumi for its raid upon Khonoma traders in 1886. In 1890 occurred the Manipur uprisings,

[1] Maitland, *Report on the Naga Hills expeditions*

[2] Other officials engaged were Captain Walker, Major Johnstone, Lt. Raban and Lt Ridgeway

security measures being adopted to check Nagas from joining the Manipuri belligerent parties. Kohima became another base of operation upon Manipur.

Consolidation of Southern Nagaland—Kohima Sadar Sub-Division:—The process of consolidation was slow; it started in 1866 but culminated in 1923. As early as 1873, proposals were made by an exploration expedition party headed by Butler to incorporate in the administrative control that tract lying between Kapamezu and Saramati ranges and the head-waters of Lania and Dikhu but the proposal was materialised not until 1885, involving a cession of part of modern Chakhesang and Sema villages to the District. In 1882, the eastern boundary had almost touched the longitude 94°30″. In 1886-87 Mr McCabe, the Deputy Commissioner toured into this area. The real exploration of Meluri, the eastern Chakhesang area, started in 1902 when an outpost was opened to protect it from the Kuki ravage, then followed the extension of a measure of a loose political control over the Tizu valley, Meluri and Eastern Rengma area. In 1911 Meluri again became a base of operation against Chingmei, the village situated on the bordering range which had perpetrated numerous raids. The post was withdrawn but was reopened shortly to quell the Kuki rebels. The post was abolished in 1912. It was perhaps at this juncture that the Government adopted stringent measure to stop Kuki aggressions into this area, a few of their chiefs having been captured and imprisoned. Others were fined. Later on a treaty was reached by which the Kukis agreed to settle in the area by conforming to the conditions as would be laid down by the original inhabitants, except Pali, the Kamyang Kuki chief, who was ordered to vacate.[1] It was proposed in 1912-13 to include within the definite political control, the villages of Karami, Yisi, Purr and Lophuri as well as Primi and Meluri but it was not until 1923, that the proposal was materialised. Thus by 1923, the present Kohima District became finally consolidated when a great portion of eastern Chakhesang area was added.

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[1] According to the Government records, Kamyang had established himself with a small following since 1894 when they migrated from Manipur while 'the Naga villages of the Lania valley are harassed by the Kuki marauders, also from Manipur State who have crossed from time to time within the last few years'. The Government however informed the Kukis that the Lania valley was outside their sphere of influence. In the early part of 1910, the Chasad chiefs made open their daring incursion in Primi and levied tribute in livestock from the inhabitants In February-March, 1910, the Deputy Commissioner Lt. Col A. E. Woods with Major Bliss, Mr Cosgrave and Lt Hardcastle marched to the villages of Yangusi, Rishan and Kanjang where the Kuki chiefs were arrested and their weapons confiscated. (1910, *For Dept Extl. A Progs July 1910*, No 20-27).

It was Dr Hutton who consolidated the area and assessed it to taxation. Rs. 2/- per house. But a history is not to become complete unless we lay a brief emphasis on the expansion of the administration into northern Nagaland.

Formation of Mokokchung Sub-division:—The Wokha Sub-division opened in 1875 has been hitherto described in the preceding pages along with the antecedents leading to it. The Sub-divisional Officer assumed charge of the administration in the northern part of the district (Lotha) in concurrence with the order of the Deputy Commissioner. But many troubles were still ensuing with the country, north of the Sub-division. As far back as 1884-85, Mangmetung, an Ao village, was visited by an expedition in consequence of the trouble with a trading party. Again in 1885, the Ao villages of Ungma and Longsa made some raids for which another expedition was undertaken. It was in consideration of these frontier troubles that Ao villages in and round Waromong bordering on Sibsagar as also those situated between that same range and Tsurong, the head-waters of Milak (Jhansi) along with Borjan (Konyak), Munching (Phom) and Chungliyemsen (Ao) were recommended to be taken in the administration. These havocs were the feature of constant blood-feuds which were common among the tribes. It was found that a mere establishment of the administration in the Lotha highlands was of no avail to exercise any moral influence upon the turbulent tribes. Moreover it was impossible to deal effectively with the tribes from as far as Sibsagar.

McCabe, during a preliminary arrangement to incorporate this area, was therefore required to undertake a continuous tour from Chakhesang area to the Ao area, east of Wokha, and to continue further to Nangtang (Litami) and thereafter completing the enquiries into different troubles which had focussed the Government attention, to march to Borhaimong (Imchen Kimong) where he would meet the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar.

During the contemporary period, the local government cautiously upheld the policy that in interfering with inter-tribal quarrels, the policy should centre mainly on the following points:—

(1) Outrages on the British subjects,

(2) Violation of inner-line, and

(3) in the event of any danger which could be caused to British subjects.

McCabe undertook the expedition and it was on this occasion that punishment was inflicted on Longsa and Ungma. However, several Ao delegations invited him and had expressed their desire to enter British protection. He was accompanied by Ao chieftains to Molongyimchen where they met Colonel

Clark of Sibsagar District. The Ao chieftains agreed to accept Government mediation during the inter-village quarrel and during the raids committed by their neighbouring tribes. But the Ao country still was classed as independent.[1]

Yet owing to the recurrences of frequent raids from beyond the Ao country committed by the tribes of Tuensang, the Government prescribed the terms of the trans-frontier policy as follows:

"All punishments should in the first instance, be by fine, the amount of fine in each being left to the discretion of the Deputy Commissioner, subject to the approval of the Chief Commissioner. If the fine is not immediately paid, its equivalent in grains or cattle may be seized. If no grain or cattle are found. the village should be debarred from all trade and intercourse with the plains until the fine is paid. In no case should the destruction of the offending village be resorted to as a punishment. In no case other than that of murder should the Deputy Commissioner interfere to settle inter-tribes disputes by making, or attempting to enforce any award Lastly in no case should the Deputy Commissioner interfere in disputes between the tribes residing within and the tribes residing outside the area of control, even though such disputes may have resulted in murder either without or within such area"

The Government, while resenting the action of Mr McCabe for his interference in Longsa-Salachu (Sungratsu) quarrels, upheld that it was inevitable. Following were the terms prescribed for the local administration to pursue: "If the Deputy Commissioner conveniently enquires into and punishes cases of murder without waiting for the concurrence of the annual tour, it seems hardly necessary to forbid his doing so. Again, the Government of India feel some doubt about the expediency of a rule declaring that when a fine cannot be collected the village is to be debarred from intercourse with the plains. . . . ." On settlement of cases, the report goes on to say, "the Deputy Commissioner may well confirm enquiry and punishment in cases of murder. but he should not be absolutely prevented from settling other cases, if he finds he can usefully and effectively do so." The same remark applies to the rule regarding non-interference in disputes between villages outside the area of control and villages within the area. "Control involves protection, but the measure of protection depends upon proximity and convenience. If a village without the area of control which has

[1] It was during the fueds between Merangkong and Dekahaimong (Melongyimchen), that inter-village trouble was settled by Mr Greer, S D O. at Wokha An extract from records of *foreign proceedings of 1887, No 1430 dated Shillong 24th July 1886* shows that the culprits concerned in the attack on Dekahaimong in 1886 were under the judicial jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner Naga Hills district within whose country the village of Merangkong was situated but the attack on the three 'ads at Amguri side would be looked into by the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar as the case of culpable homicide

raided upon a village within it can be conveniently punished, there seems to the Government of India to be no reason why this should not be done. In the instruction issued in October last, the Government of India objected to the conclusion of engagements with the frontier tribes, but this was because it was thought that each case should be considered on its merits, and that the question of convenience and discretion should be paramount"[1].

However within a few years which followed, the Ao area underwent great havocs when the Phoms, the Konyaks and the Changs raided the controlled territory. *In July 1888, Mongsenyimti and Longkam were raided and massacred by the villages of Noksam, Litam, Sontak and Mozung who were apathetic to* the establishment of the administration near them. To maintain an effective control a separate Mokokchung Sub-division therefore came to be established in 1889 by which the sub-divisional headquarters was shifted to Mokokchung from Wokha, the latter being left to the charge of a Tahsildar. The area was assessed to taxation. Ungma was first selected as a site for the headquarters, but finally Mokokchung[2] was taken.

Sema: In 1873, Butler proposed to consolidate the Kapamezu-Seramati mountain tract with the political control area, involving a great portion of the Sema area and a few villages had been hitherto included in the control area. In Government records, Ratomi and Lazami were the first Sema villages which came under this purview. From 1882 to 1884, Sema villages (including Ratomi) were punished for their raid in the Lotha controlled area. An expedition under McCabe came to punish it. Then followed their historic march to Molungyimchen where they met Clarke of Sibsagar, an event which has found out mention. In 1887, Mesami (Sakhai) village was punished because of the raids of its Chief (1884-87) into Sulhami, Phiuma, Chipokitimi and other villages which brought about 80 murders, more than 26 being women victims. Many Chakhesang joined Mr Porteous' expedition but according to Government records, before the village was reached, Sakhai (the Chief) came out to surrender and paid up a fine of Rs. 844 in kind.

Two Sema villages, Seromi and Ghovishe (called after their chieftains), were punished by Mr Davis in 1890. Again in 1897-98 Natunni was likewise punished for its raids into Phuilogami. In January 1900, Captain Woods (Deputy Commissioner) and Captain Shakespear in a flag march with one hundred Rifles marched to Tachumi (Yachumi) which owed allegiance

[1] File 21 J, No 246 E of 3rd Feb., 1886
[2] *Mokongtsu* is the original name

to Ghovishe,[1] unvisited yet by any European for its raid upon the controlled area. They met a resolute resistance but at length it was reduced by Captain Shakespear.

By 1905-06, the District administration recommended the absorption of the entire Sema tract but after a careful consideration, it was felt more advisable to extend the administrative control to Tizu while the area east of the river was considered as non-controlled but within the influence of the Government if the eastern Semas so wished. Thus Tizu formed a natural boundary between controlled and non-controlled territory as early as 1906-07.

Tuensang:--The Mokokchung Sub-division was formed with an object of checking the recurrence of raids from cis-Dikhu and trans-Dikhu villages. As early as 1886-87, the Phom villages of Yachem and Yaong committed raids upon Ungur and Akhoia in the Ao area, necessitating in March 1888, the taking of an expedition which advanced Yachem *via* Tamlu, Wanching, and Jakhtung; Tamlu and Konngan all Konyak on the way were reduced for obstructing them, yet the expedition met an obdurate resistance at Yachem, the Phoms operating with bows and arrows, but finally it was quelled. The expedition marked the first European contact.

In spite of the severe terms which were meted out, the trans-Dikhu villages were bent yet upon taking retaliatory measures. Thus in July 1888 an outburst precipitated when a confederacy (comprising Noksam, Litam, Santak and Mozung)[2] perpetrated another raid with great rapacity and barbarism, leading to the loss of 173 lives in Mongsenyimti and Longkum in Ao area. To check such recurrences, an outpost was set up at Mongsenyimti and an elaborately prepared expedition set off in December which advanced Noksam, where an obdurate resistance was offered, the Phoms operating a guerrilla warfare, but at length it was subdued. The scene of the battle next shifted to Mozung, the Chang centre. But after a long struggle, the village was reduced and burnt. Ten other villages which sided with her were also punished.

As Yampong (Yimpong), a Sangtam village, in 1891 raided the Ao controlled area. Davis, Macintyre and Muspratt at the head of a punitive expedition, therefore, marched to the village and destroyed it. This marked a first Sangtam contact.

In March 1900, the Deputy Commissioner toured northwardly from Tamlu to Ninu in Tirap and was received all along the way by the Konyak and Wancho Rajas.

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[1] Yachumi (Yimchunger) owed a tributary allegiance to Ghovishe at the contemporary time.
[2] Mozung or Mochungjami at the present Tuensang headquarters.

In 1900, the second expedition was resumed against Mozung by Captain Woods, Deputy Commissioner with 100 Rifles which advanced from Kapamezu, a sort of flag march visiting many villages on the way, only Yachumi (Yimchunger) challenged, but it was subdued (reference to which we have made previously). At Longsa, Mr N. Williamson, Sub-divisional Officer joined the expedition, Mozung was reduced after it refused to deliver the indemnity arrear due since 1888-89.

In 1903, Mozung committed another raid when two Aos were killed. But it was not until 1905 that the village was punished. By this time the political control had also extended to Tamlu which comprised Konkan, a coal-bearing tract.

In 1908, an entire tract between the Dikhu and Safrai rivers comprising Borjan, Wakching, Wanching and Liangkha was included in Mokokchung Sub-Division.[2] Soon after 14 Konyak villages situated between Yangnua and the Safrai were added while Mon and Chi were incorporated in the controlled area.

In October 1908 Mozung again committed barbarous acts; the village men had not cleared the fines levied on them for their aggressions in 1903 and in 1905. But not until 1909, it was that an expedition under Colonel Woods and Major Bliss went to reduce it. The expedition was successful. On the demand of compensation, the village headmen thus replied: "Does a hunter give away his hounds? *We hear the Sirkar make coins. If they are short, let them make some more.*" In lieu of money payment, the expedition exacted tributes in kind.

In consequence of the Konyak raids in May-June, and September 1910, an expedition in 1911 under Mr Needham Sub-divisional Officer marched to Chinglong. The village was punished for assisting the village of Chingthang in the conduct of the raids; moreover its headmen had refused to co-operate in delivering the culprits.

In 1912, two more raids were perpetrated by Chinglong in which a few persons of Wanching, were murdered, Chinglong being assisted by Chongwe. The expedition, a great force enlisted from the Dacca Military Police Battalion, the Naga Hills Military Police and the Lushai Hills Battalion, which undertook operation in February 1913, was thwarted by the Nagas who killed 48 persons.

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[1] The first elaborate report on Tuensang comes from the tour diary of the Deputy Commissioner in March 1900 who after leaving Yachumi and Mozung, proceeded to Tablung, Tamlu, Wakching, Jakhtung, Borjan, Konkan and Namsang. Borjan and Konkan are coal-bearing tracts (*Tour diary of E A Woods*).

[2] Reid, *Frontier areas bordering on Assam* p 144-45 In 1910, the north-east frontier had extended up to Toukak river

Additional force therefore was brought, and under the capable commandership of Major A. Wilson, six villages were destroyed from March 10 to 19.

Until the first world war, a loose political control area was constituted between the administered and independent territory, but the Konyak and the Wancho territories situated more eastwardly were deliberately excluded.

In 1922-23, the Phom village of Yongnya was subjugated for wounding a British subject of Kamahu while in the same year, Tangsa village was punished for immolating a girl after she was bought for with a price.

From 1927, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mokokchung undertook charge of all the relations with the independent Nagas on the Sibsagar border, the responsibility having been shifted to him from the Deputy Commissioner, Sibsagar.

In 1927, Yongnya, a Phom village, was punished for its assault on a British subject. But during the same year an area east of Mokokchung between Chichung and Chingmei rivers with six villages were added.

By 1931, it was reported that the population showed an increase of 13,000 persons due to the incorporation... of the previously unadministered territory in the Naga Hills and in the Sibsagar Frontier Tract comprising Sangtam, Kalya Kenyu (Khemngan), Yimchunger, Rengpara and Phom Nagas who appeared for the first time prominently in the census tables.

In 1939 a conference of Naga Chieftains held at Wakching, presided over by the Governor implored the villages of Aopao, Longmien, Chingha, Lungha, Chai and Totok to deliver 300 guns which were seized from the Assam Rifles station. Within a week, they were all delivered. Criminal cases were also settled, the Government enunciating the non-intervention policy in the disputes between tribes residing within and those residing outside the control area.

Great havocs ensued in 1935 owing to a Kalyo Kenyu Naga raid by Pangsa. An expedition under J. P. Mills set off from Mokokchung in November 1936 and advanced Pangsa *via* upper Dikhu valley, Chingmei river, Phira Ahire, Holongba, Angangba, Changtongie, Helingpong, Kethurr and Chingmei. But at Noklak, the Pangsa messengers came to welcome, yet they refused to deliver the slaves whom they had kidnapped.

It was after Pangsa was burned that the parleys for peace were opened. The fine was paid and the slaves taken off were delivered. It is true that the Government extended its influence over the various Naga tribes but even to the end of the British rule, the Government had maintained some influence over the eastern tribes. It was in 1938-39 that Pangsa was also taken by the Administration.

Formation of Tuensang Sub-Division:—The gradual expansion of roads was noticed in Tuensang during the last world war. In 1948 a separate Tuensang administrative centre was created; then a separate Sub-Division was carved out under the Assistant Political Officer in 1951 with his head-quarters at the newly-built Tuensang town. Yet village feuds still raged in 1949 between Yachum-Kamahu and Orangkong-Phomching groups leading to the opening of outposts at Kaphire, Mon and Noklak in 1950-51. In 1951 Noklak was raided by the eastern frontier villages when about 100 persons were killed.[1] For these reasons, the hitherto uncontrolled areas to the north and east, were therefore consolidated into the administration.[2]

Tuensang merged with NEFA: In 1952, Tuensang was constituted as a Sub-Division of NEFA under the separate Assistant Political Officer. It was in 1953 that a demarcation settlement with Tirap was made during the flag-march column.

In 1954, Pangsa raided Yimpang in which 57 persons were killed. In 1957, Tuensang was bifurcated from NEFA and merged into the Naga Hills Tuensang area with its three Districts—Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. Thus in 1957 the three Districts of present Nagaland were born, the background lay at the Naga Hills District, with its two-fold Sub-Divisions the Kohima Sadar and Mokokchung during the British rule.

Administrative changes:—During the inception of the Naga Hills District at the last century, the Deputy Commissioner was held responsible to the Chief Commissioner. By the Government of India Act, 1919, the District was governed as a Backward Tract by the Governor of Assam as Agent to the Governor-General. The Simon Commission which visited Kohima in 1929 recommended the constitution of the so-called Excluded Areas which were to comprise the Lushai, Naga and NEFA Hills Tracts. The recommendation was accepted in the British Parliament and incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935. Under the Acts of 1919 and 1935, these areas were deliberately excluded from the Assam Legislative Council, their administration continued under the Governor of Assam. And it was not until the inception of the Interim Government (1961) that the true self-responsible and representative administration was introduced.

The Nagas since 1866 when the District was formed had entered into no specific treaty with the British Government[3] and District was constituted under

[1] Wancho area on contiguous Tirap was also consolidated with Tirap Sub-Division of NEFA

[2] In 1948, a punitive expedition was led against Chen and Chen was burnt resulting from its raid upon Chokniyu when 212 heads were taken A post was opened in Tatok in 1948 The same village of Tatok killed about 100 men of Langhem who were fishing in the river

[3] Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and Sanads*, Vol IX, p 91.

the Inner-line of 1873 which kept it isolated by banning the entrance of outsiders, the object being neither the repression nor the artificial preservation of primitive culture, but was designed to protect the hill man from exploitation,[1] and enable natives enjoy their own way of life.

Zemi revolt:—Another great landmark in Naga freedom-struggle was the Zemi revolt in 1930 at the instance of Jodunang, the newly emerging Zemi Messiah. The movement gained momentum and rallied astonishing mass support in North Cachar, Naga Hills and in Manipur. Thousands joined to his banner and rendered him tithes and tributes, Jodunang was hailed as a supernatural personality, he had wielded the Kabui-Zehangroung tribe into an organisation with the true political objectives, for it aimed at the restoration of Zemi Naga independence and the extermination of British rule although outwardly it professed a new religious blend. The revolt outlived for two years, enormous difficulties being encountered by the Government to find out Jonadung's hide-out. It was not until February 1932 that Jodunang's movements were intercepted when he was arrested in Kambiron by Higgins, Political Agent. He was sentenced to death.

But the revolt was continued by Miss Guidallo an acting priestess of Jodanung. The movement went on till October 1932. Guidallo was searched in North Cachar and Zeliang Hills; but she repeatedly escaped; it was when a more thorough search was made that her movement was intercepted and finally arrested at Pulomi by Captain N. Macdonald. She was deported. The movement was well organised to the credit of the freedom fighters and withstood Government pressure for two years.[2] She was released after Independence and awarded the title of Rani.

Japanese invasion:—Both Manipur and Naga Hills suffered disastrous results of Japanese invasion during the second world war, the Nagas considerably aiding and assisting the Britishers to withstand the tide of invasion.

After obtaining bases of operations at Jessami and Khorasam in North Manipur, the Japanese forces advanced to the interior of the Naga Hills and were it not for the prompt defence measures, the Naga Hills would have also fallen. Defence forces were rushed to Kohima.

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[1] *Tribal Awakening* pp 108, 99. *Naga path*, p 2.

[2] The freedom struggle which begun with the early British expeditions continued right through the British administration Main participants in the movements were Pang'wa and Zakware with their allies in 1840, Khonoma, Mezoma, and Jotsoma in 1850, Lesophenyu (1874), Wokha and Pangti in 1874-75, Mezoma in 1877, Khonoma with its allies in 1879 80, Naturni and Tachuma during the close of the last century, Yachem in 1888, Mozung (1888-1909), Changlong (1912) and other uprisings which followed The Zeliang revolt (1930-32) which flared up and which showed signs of unrest intensively constituted another landmark of the Naga freedom movement and had its impact in Cachar, Naga and Manipur hills Some think that the movement was directed against Kukis.

The Japanese siege of Kohima began on April 3-4, 1944, who during the first stage concentrated themselves in the Jail hill and the bakery area, but on the 6th it was relieved. Next the Japanese siege of the jail and garrison hills was raised by a heavy counter attack, yet on the 8th the Japanese 138th regiment advanced by hideous paths to Merema and Zubza village, in consequence of which, the troops had therefore, to be diverted from Kohima. Zubza was relieved by the 5th Brigade while the Bunker's hill situated nearby was cleared off the Japanese by the Cameroons during the middle of April while fightings at Cheswema ridge (Merema) went on until 22nd April when it was also liberated.

The Japanese final efforts were to storm the Church knoll and the F. Hunter's hill in Kohima when fierce fightings poured during April 16-18. Yet at length Japanese forces were repelled by the Royal Norfolk, Royal Scots and the Royal Berkshire. By the end of April the Japanese had retreated.[1]

On the 3rd of May, Puhabadze too was cleared off the Japanese.

The Defence Forces comprised the following:—

(1) Dorsetshire Regiment.
(2) Royal Berkshire.
(3) Durham Light Infantry.
(4) Royal Artillery.
(5) 90th Field Regiment.
(6) Royal Norfolk.
(7) Lancashire Fusiliers.
(8) Royal Welsh Fusiliers.
(9) Essex Regiment.
(10) South Wales Borderers.
(11) 1st K.C.V.O. Gurkha Rifles.
(12) 2nd Battalion 4th Bombay.
(13) 7th Rajput Regiment.
(14) Punjab Regiment.
(15) Kohima Garrison (4th B.N. Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment).
(16) Assam Regiment.
(17) Assam Rifles
(18) Queen's Own Cameroon Highlanders.
(19) Manchester Regiment.

[1] I was told that the Japanese who reached Zunhebuto in the heart of Sema country were repulsed by the royal Scots with the help of Sema Naga

(20) Queen's Regiment 1st (West Survey).
(21) Rajputana Rifles.
(22) Royal Artillery.
(23) Royal Berkshire Regiment.
(24) Royal Scots.
(25) Gurkha Rifles.

True the successful encounter at Kohima had saved the whole of Eastern India from the Japanese invasion.

On the Naga contribution to the defence, William Slim writes: 'The gallant Nagas whose loyalty, even in the depressing times of the invasion, never faltered, despite floggings, torture, execution and the burning of the villages, they refused to aid the Japanese in any way or to betray our troops. Their active help to us was beyond virtue or praise. They guided our column, collected informations, ambushed every patrol, carried over supplies and brought in our wounded under the heaviest fire, and they being the gentle men refused all payments'.[1]

F-Haimendorf describes that 'they split through the Japanese lines with valuable intelligences, rescued allied wounded .. and at night, often guided the allied air in arms ... the Angamis brought on a large number of prisoners'.[2] Many Nagas became prisoners and in the most trying times even fought with the enemy single-handed or at the most with their indigenous weapons.[3]

The War Cemetery where the tide of the invasion was repulsed from Kohima, tells the grim story of the war with all its pathos and horrors. Shortly after the Japanese had retreated, resettlements of evacuees were made in the Angami-Chakhesang area. The Japanese during the siege were considerably assisted by the Indian National Army. A negligible Naga group is said to have joined the Japanese and the National Army during the invasion.

With the war, several calamities visited the country. Many Naga villages in Manipur and Southern Nagaland were affected by epidemics where hundreds of people died of dysentery, typhoid, enteric fever and cholera. Matters became worsened when medical reliefs failed to reach in right time because of transport difficulties and complicated issues arising of the invasion. Villagers in interior places went on starving owing to a shortage of food-stuffs after their villages were cut off by the Japanese, whilst the latter butchered

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[1] Quoted in Elwin, *Nagaland*, p 26.
[2] *The Naked Nagas*, p 26.
[3] *Tribal Awakening*, p 102

all live-stock available and confiscated the agricultural crops wherever found, but, a tradition says, the Japanese respected the children and women. Many villages around Kohima were evacuated but when the villagers had returned, they found it difficult, owing to the disturbed state, to settle down to their old way of life. It was, therefore, at the cost of such difficulties underwent by people who inhabit these eastern frontier mountain tracts that Eastern India was saved, whilst the progress made by the invaders to reach the impenetrable jungles all the way from Burma remained an act of wonder to many a spectator.

The invasion launched Naga Hills into another transformation of an epoch-making. Heavy mechanisation and machinisation came with the war. Administrative control became expanded to Tuensang, communications were extended. There was an upsurge of the new patterns of business consciousness. The war forged a sense of unity among the different tribes. After the war, the Naga Hills District Tribal Council was formed which in 1946 changed itself into the Naga National Council. It was to guide the Naga politics for more than one decade.

Political Settlement (1947-66):—The Naga politics as is well known became complicated with the advent of Independence and it was only after the inception of Nagaland, nay the resumption of the Agreement for the suspension of operations in 1964, that a definite measure of political settlement was restored.

Just after Independence, important administrative arrangements followed in the Naga Hills. The administrative control was extended into the remote areas in the eastern and north-eastern Tuensang. New outposts were started and the regular administration was also consolidated. The Naga Hills with the other Hill Districts of Assam, were grouped in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India which provided for the formation of an autonomous District Council. Under this arrangement, the Naga Hills District was also entitled to send three members to the Legislative Assembly of Assam. But, because of certain difficulties, this arrangement could not be worked out. Even the negotiations on the Nine-Point Memorandum (known as Hydari Agreement, after Sir Akbar Hydari, the Governor) had also broken down. Widespread agitations soon followed. It is well known that the Naga Hills during those years were a disturbed area.

To restore a sense of safety and security in the villages, the Government constituted the village guards well-trained while armed army engineers and pioneer companies in the face of risks and dangers, opened up new lines of

ıcations in many interior places. Shortly after this Nagaland security n was enforced to check the constant harassment by the underground. efforts were not lacking on the part of both Government and the bring about a settlement and a termination to this state of belligerence. owards this was a formation in 1957 of the All Naga Tribes People's on. The first convention held in Kohima on August 22, 1957 resolved ute an administrative unit to be named the Naga Hills and Tuensang e demand met a gratifying response, for Tuensang soon was bifurcated FA and consolidated into the *Naga Hills and Tuensang Area* with n December 1957. Since Tuensang was taken over, the newly-constit was administered by the Commissioner on behalf of Governor as the gent of the President. In the next year, the convention at Ungma o constitute the Naga Hills and Tuensang Area into a full-fledged State · Indian Union[1] while the third convention held in Mokokchung put he proposal for the formation of the proposed State to be named In July 1960, Mr. Nehru announced in the Parliament the Union ent's desire to accept the Naga decision and was received with wide A transitional arrangement was that the State was to be governed erim Naga Legislative Body of 42 members with an Executive Council ıbers, the former being graded as the Legislative Council while was instituted as its Cabinet, which with Mr. P. Shilu Ao as Chief Councillor was inaugurated in the middle of March 1961, after the Council was solemnly sworn in. It was with its formation that the post nmissioner was abolished. Kohima District sent 3 Angami, 4 Chakhe-eliang-Kuki, 2 Rengma and 2 members (of Dimapur *Mouza*) to the ody which numbered 42 members.[1]

ugust, 1962 a Bill in the Parliament was passed for its formation. became the sixteenth State in the Union. Under the arrangement, the of Nagaland and Assam continued to be the same person and so the gh Court which continued its jurisdiction over the new State. The news ed with jubilant rejoicings inside Nagaland and the rest of the country.

land Inaugurated: –On December 1, 1963 a new State known as became formally inaugurated when the newly elected Legislative met. During the elections to the Naga Legislative Assembly, the Naga t Organisation won an overwhelming majority over the opposition. ing the Sixteenth State of India, President Dr Radhakrishnan said—

econd convention further explored ways and means to reach some decision towards

Let all past rancour and misunderstanding be forgotten and let a new chapter of progress, prosperity and good-will be written on a page which begins today.

Agreement for the Suspension of Operations:—Meanwhile efforts on the part of the public for restoring normalcy were being made; in this the church leaders played an important role. Church dignitaries at Baptist conventions, the first held at Wokha in 1964, discussed ways and means towards terminating the state of warfare which had dragged on for nine years long, the convention further explored the possibility of an arbitration between the Underground and the Government.

The proposal received wide applause and approbation from both Government and the people. In 1964, therefore, the council of Nagaland Baptist Church proposed to constitute a Peace Mission which was to consist of Rev G. Michael Scott, Mr B. P. Chaliha, Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan and Mr S. Deo. But Mr. Deo due to indifferent health could not join the Mission.

Thus a Mission came to exist which resumed many rounds of talks with the underground leaders. In May, 1964 the Mission enunciated a formal policy in favour of Suspension of operations, "for the purpose of enabling a peace conference to be held and consultations to take place freely among the People of Nagaland and India". On 25th of that month, the underground leaders proclaimed their acceptance of the peace term.

Nevertheless the Peace Mission, while sympathising the Nagas in their struggle for self-respect, also urged them to examine the broad perspectives laid open in the Constitution for participating freely in the affairs of the Indian Union.

The Agreement for the suspension of operations was extended from time to time. But in 1965 the Peace Mission was dissolved as the intermediary body was felt no longer necessary to go between, with an object in view to encourage direct negotiations to take place, the basis having already been laid down. Moreover, at this juncture, the Rev G. Michael Scott had been ordered to leave India for his undesirable activities. The Mission was liquidated after its 21 months' existence.

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

Population trends

THE population of the District in the census of 1961 is 108,924 of which 57,704 are male and 51,220 female. The population distributed sub-division-wise is given below:

Kohima Sadar	Sub-Division	47,672
Dimapur	Sub-Division	27,596
Phek	Sub-Division	33,656

Growth of Population:—The population which hitherto was 57,692 in 1901 increased to 108,924 of the present census, increasing almost twice in number. Up-till Independence, the increase was due to a gradual expansion of the administration. One of the factors for the increase of the population from 98,059 in 1951 to 108,924 to 1961 can be attributed to the growth of Kohima as the State Capital and Dimapur as an economic centre, where the rate of population density has quickly increased. The table appended below shows the population variations during the last sixty years:—

Year	Total population	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1901	57,692	29,243	28,449
1911	86 012	44,662	41,350[1]
1921	88,759	45,850	42,909
1931	99 230	50,573	48,657
1941	98,747	49,597	49,150
1951	98 059	50,142	47,917
1961	108,924	57,704	51,220

The tribe-wise figures in the census of 1961 are furnished below:—

Angami	33,687
Chakhesang	41,450[2]
Zeliangroung	9,466
Rengma	5,756
Kuki (unspecified)	3,010

[1] In 1911, inaccuracy in the enumeration of Zeliangroung was recorded whereas in 1921, part of them was grouped with Angami, but a majority must have returned under *unspecified Naga*

[2] By adding the various groups of the Chakhesang tribe at the figures available from the office of the Superintendent of Census: Chakru 8,339, Khezha 7,295, Sangtam 15,508 and the remainder 10,308

Immigration and emigration:—As the district is under the Inner line, influx of the population from outside is therefore much less compared with the other states.[1] But with the formation of Nagaland, a need has grown for the deputation of some technical personnel from outside to cope with the vast task towards the systematic implementation of the several developmental programmes. Other professional business concerns are also growing.

The plains-belt comprising Rangapahar-Dimapur-Chumukedima areas has remained hitherto out of the Inner line, where the pressure of a mixed population has increased recently on an intensive scale. Many Naga cultivators also have gone down to settle at Dimapur where they have opened farmings during the last few years and other business enterprises. Non-Nagas are not allowed to cross beyond the Chumukedima police check post without Inner line permits. Other communities distributed in the District are:[2]

Community	Number
Nepali	4,649
Bengali	3,079
Hindi speaking	2,533
Kachari	809
Malayalam	783
Manipuri (Meithei)	460
Dimasa	430
Punjabi	393
Munda (unspecified)	67
Kumauni	207
Khelma	179
Mikir	123
Garo	213
Lushai (Mizo)	95
Oriya	96
Garhwali	80
Bodo (Boro)	73
Bihari	81
Kharia	57
Tamil	62
Khasi	31
Oraon (Kunukh)	37

[1] In 1901, 94% of the population was indigenous The other 4% comprised natives of Assam while the remainder were formed of residents from the Punjab, U.P. and Bengal.

[2] All the above figures should rather be reviewed in the light of the district-wise list of Mother tongue according to the latest census Sema Tribe is treated with in the Mokokchung District Gazetteer

Telegu	..	.	..		22
Muslim	.	.			19
Pnar (Synteng)		..	.		12
Tripuri	.	..	..	.	5
Marwari	..	..	..		17
Marathi			.		26
Deswali		.	.	.	6
Dogri					4

94,369 persons by the last census belong to the scheduled tribes.

Distribution of population between urban and rural areas

According to the present census, 95,925 persons (49,678 male and 46 217 female) belong to the rural population while the urban population comprises 12,999 persons in the proportion of 8,026 male to 4,973 female. There is no city in the district. The only two towns are Kohima and Dimapur.[1] The following table indicates that the density rate is more intensive in town areas:—

Population per square mile

Rural	..	..	40
Urban	..	.	3,125

The village-wise distribution of rural population is as follows:—

14% live in villages which have less than 200 population each, 26 78% are distributed in villages which range from 200 to 499 persons each, 27 19% occupy villages which vary in number from 500 to 999 each, 26 84% are confined to villages which comprise 1,000 to 1,999 persons each and only 5·19% reside in villages which vary from 2,000 to 4,999 each.

Inhabited villages are 263 whereas uninhabited villages are 11. The district has a total number of 24,962 houses, 2,334 of which are comprised in the towns.

The table below shows the number of villages of various population sizes:—

Number of population	(1) Less than 200 population size	(2) Population 200-499	(3) Population 500-999
Number of Villages	127	78	37
Number of population	(4) Population 1,000-1,999	(5) Population 2,000-4,999	
Number of villages	19	2	

[1] It was only from 1961 that Dimapur Urban area is classed as town

Density:—The average density rate is 18 per square mile. I division accounts for the highest density of population of 22 per sq Density rates in Kohima and Dimapur Sub-Divisions are 18 and 13 re Household density per square mile is furnished below:—

Total		*Rural*		*Urban*
11	..	10	..	555

Languages:—Naga linguistics have not received adequate at they ought; apart from Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, the others' tions in this field are flimsy. A conclusive view-point, however, is tha roung, Sema and Rengma are Bodo languages and are assigned w Kachari, and Koch to the Assam-Burmese (Sino-Tibetan) form Angami is also attributed to the same class irrespective of the more morphological and lexical features which it abounds. Kuki belongs rent family and is classed with Burmese-Chin, sub-stock of Sino-Tib

A chart on the bilingual types by the census of 1961 is given belc

Name of Scheduled tribes	Mother-tongue and total number of persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to the mother-tongue		Subsidiary la
	Males	Females	
Angami	1,735	333	English, Assam Zeliang & Sema
Chakhesang	418	217	Hindi, English, Sema.
Rengma	111	26	English, Hindi Angami, Sema.
Sema	311	94	Assamese, Engl Angami, Sangta sang.
Zeliang	222	46	Assamese, Hindi Angami

Growth of alphabet:—Tribal languages have been put dov Roman alphabet, but it is Angami alone which has had a small cc written literature in the form of school text-books and Christian pul Next comes Rengma, which has but minor Christian publication. Ang

[1] The chart relates only to the indigenous groups in southern Nagaland.

[2] Besides English, Nagamese (a simplified form of Assamese) is spoken among the tr

language recognised up to the matriculation standard at the secondary level. The other tribes while using Angami as a medium for primary and middle standards, have simultaneously made efforts to develop their respective alphabets. Bible translation work has been done in Chakru (Chakhesang) and Liangmai-Mazeeme-Zeme (Zemi), the Zeliangroung groups.

Religion:—In the census of 1961, the main religions are Naga religion and Indefinite Beliefs, Christianity and Hinduism as the chart below illustrates.

RELIGION FOR SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Religion

Name of Scheduled Tribe		Naga Religion		Indefinite beliefs		Christian		Hindu	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	R	4,690	1,395	15,619	15,508	18,262	18,599	6 428	6 289
	U			597	672	1,396	1,425	194	322

Aspects of Naga Religion

Naga religion is described by sociologists to be animistic which lays emphasis on the existence of the deified manifestations of nature and propitiation of spirits both benevolent and malevolent. The causes of troubles and torments which befall the family and the inhabitation are attributed to the action of the evil spirits. They hold that commitments, omissions and occasional failures to appease them are the reasons for incurring the spirits displeasure. By divination they trace such sufferings, ailments and ill luck to the influence of the evil spirits, and the spirits having been traced, appeasement to them follows.

But Nagas also follow theistic principles, although on the nature, attributes and functions of the Supreme Being whom they call *Ukepenuopfu*, the Angamis cannot explain.[1] Him they attribute to be the author of the creation but at times he is personified with a progenitor of the race and of all the living beings. Curiously this deity has both male and female attributes. About his relations with the other deified spirits, his retribution of the human beings and his position in the circle of the pantheon, they could not answer definitely. Naturally like the other tribes they believe that there is an unseen divine power behind the creation, behind the course of events and behind the destiny of mankind.

[1] *Terhomi* is the title of the Supreme Being amongst the Chakhesang Spelling differs from place to place

Angamis have formulae of giving incantations and raising sacrificial rites towards malignant spirits to appease them. The pantheon, in their belief, comprises mainly the following:—

Benevolent	
Telepfu	*god of intellect*[1]
Dzurau	*goddess of fishing*
Chiekhieo	*god of wild animals*
Malevolent	
Ruotshe	*the killer and avenger*
Rapu (Rapuo)	*goddess of nightmares*
Mechiemo	*god of death*
Miawenue	*a male deity, a god of fruitfulness*
Temi	*a ghost of a deceased*
Metsino	*guardian angel of the dead*
Tekhuhro	*protector of tigers and leopards*

To the above we may add *Ketsie-rhuo* or spirit stones. The Rengma conception is more flimsy than Angami. One of Rengma beneficent spirits is *Nyeseginyu* (who gives increase to harvest) but *Aung* is malignant who torments the human beings and causes them ailments and death, loss of property and other signs of misfortune. *Arinationale* is the Rengma form of invocation to ward off this spirit when he is appeased with the sacrificial offerings containing an egg and a piece of iron placed over a leaf.[2] Rengmas par excellence have beliefs in other malignant spirits which are like nightmares called *Rame.*

Tribal religion being a mixture of theism, animism, supernaturalism and superstition is connected with the practice of sorcery, exorcism and magic. Priests receive special training for warding off evil spirits and for the conduct of ceremonies. Several practices are held to avert epidemics, believed to be a representation of an evil spirit's shadow, which in cases of failures of being appeased, has come to ravage the village. A sacrificial offering in such situations consists of eggs laid in the path wrapped in a leaf, while the village paths are strewn with pieces of ornamental decorations and clothings. Invocations to such a spirit are made to ward him off. But the system of invocation and appeasement of the deified spirits varies from village to village and from one household to

[1] The position of *Telepfu* is controversial as it is described to be a wicked spirit which carries off travellers on the road

[2] Information collected from Tsemenyu in 1967 It may be concluded that iron particles according to tribal belief have the power of thunderbolts for counteracting the malignant spirit's exertions.

another. Sacrifices are also offered with a cooked liver, entrails and slices of meat in addition to eggs.

In the good old days it was a general Naga belief that a man whose skull was severed would not go to an eternal repose to join his ancestors.

Obsolete practice—Head-hunting:—The practice of head-hunting was extant before the inception of Naga Hills District in 1866. It was, according to the Naga belief, a fertility rite, nay all the other fertility rites were not to become complete without it. It embodied the importance of a soul substance with the soil, for which head-hunting expeditions were launched. The head-hunters spent much time, and traversed after a search of the skulls Anybody's skull was highly valued and preserved after the performance of the rituals. The head-hunters when they had brought such skulls became elevated in status and fascinating figures, especially to girls for their acts of valour. A particular enemy was not a sole object but anybody's skull was highly valued; the person slain may have been a traveller on the road or a peasant in the field. The head-hunters, when they returned with a skull, were awaited at their own village gate and received Village people sang folk-songs and raised incantations and the head-hunter became a magic name, he received the new sets of attires and ornaments. He had to undergo many stages of purgatory rites whilst the skull he had brought was dedicated to the ceremonies before it was taken for preservation in the village. But among some Nagas, the skull was buried, the belief being that such practice enhances the fertility of the soil

A few of Cis-Dikhu and southern tribes were slave dealers, who, according to traditions, supplied slaves for the purpose of immolation on the banks of Dikhu. But rich families also maintained slaves who continued with generations of the household.

Divination:– Omens are consulted in various ways. Nagas hold that certain dreams are portentious enough Among the Zehangroung a common omen is the cutting of a piece of ginger, the auguries being indicated from the fallen pieces. Omens are also consulted from the crossing of a fowl's legs after it is killed by strangling. By means of divination, the evil spirit s influence is discovered and rites next are performed to ward it off Rengmas have numerous ways of divination. The common way is by examining the position of the legs of a fowl which is killed, but auguries may have been read over the intestines. "For hunting the Western Rengmas usually employ the Lotha method of cutting chips from a green reed or twig and observing how they fall. For war the eastern Rengmas (*i.e.* Meluri group) take the omens by cutting a bamboo thong half through and straining it round the big toe till it breaks If a fibre

projects from the piece held in the right hand it is a good omen, for that is the hand in which the spear is held. For hunting omens two twigs about an inch long are dropped together. If they fall with one crossing the other, game will be killed. If they touch but do not cross, game will be found but probably not got. If they fall apart, the omens are bad and the hunter will return home empty-handed. Besides omens deliberately taken, Rengmas pay great regard to many chance omens." A similar custom is observed by Angami who when embarking on hunting expedition used to cut a twig and read the omens from the falling of pieces but the method of interpretation varies from one person to another.

On oath swearing, the usual method is by biting a spear-head between teeth, the declaration following that the weapon would consume life if the promise was broken or the pledge made was not observed Another way is by taking a live fowl by two parties, one party taking the head and the other the legs, and severing it; the parties exclaim that the same fate befalls them, if they do not honour their word.

Mortuary:—All the tribes in Southern Nagaland bury their dead. The obsequies are elaborate, the rituals being connected with funerary feasts, sacrifice of animals, ceremonial mournings, offering of food to the deceased and the keeping of effigies at a grave-yard.

Among Angamis, the corpse is generally retained for a night but if death occurs in the morning, the corpse is disposed of in the evening of the same day; it is buried in the house compound. Ablution is done with an indigenous soap substance made of the tree's fibres or any other typical plant; the corpse, thoroughly washed out, is laid on a bed, decked in with the best attire. Above the head, is hung a basket of food-stuffs offered by the deceased's relations and friends. If a deceased were a father in the house as it occurs in the eastern area, his sons on first day abstain from full meals and take only salt and rice-beer while they prepare a special curry of chicken for the deceased. The funerary party content themselves with feasts of animals slain, pigs, cows and even mithuns. It is said that at an Angami funerary assemblage, women mourners who could accomplish more in verbose lamentations get the best share of meat distributed from the slain animals.

On the second day, a coffin[1] is made by the khel people. A grave is dug. A deceased male is buried with two spears, a sword and bamboo splinter (for

[1] Amongst Chakro and Khezha (Chakhesang) groups and perhaps other tribes, the corpse may have just been wrapped with a cloth, if no coffin or stretcher was made.

the purpose of fire-stick) but the female takes to her repose only a black cloth embellished with beads with a basket of paddy as provisions for food. A live chicken is also buried with the deceased. Evil spirits are warded off by the firing of guns. Women express sorrow by shrieking, wailing and dashing themselves upon the ground.

The ceremony is connected with a challenge of the evil spirits when a group of men raise a labyrinth of shouts and yells and brandish their shields and spears. Personal goods of the deceased are displayed near a grave, but in the case of women, only a handloom, yarns, a few baskets and beads are exhibited.[1] A number of skulls of the slain animals are kept at the exhibition. At Chakhesang and Angami areas, an effigy representing the dead person is laid over the grave.

Moreover a fire, for a few days following the burial, is lighted over the grave. The crest of a grave is levelled up by flat stones, but in the case of the rich, a permanent masonry is built.

Similarly are the Zeliangroung customs. Ablution of the corpse is done with an indigenous Naga soap, whence next it is dressed up lavishly, but a waist-cloth the deceased has worn at his death need not to be replaced. Like Angami, the coffin is a hollowed tree trunk. Offerings of food are the same as in the Angami custom, but a specially cooked curry of fowl, prepared by the eldest son in the house, is supposed to be a best dish for the deceased to relish. Like Angami, offerings of food continue for three days. The Zeliangroung belief is that the final separation comes one year after burial, at which purgatory rite, the feast of mithuns and cows is served. For one year's interval, the members of the household cast out the rice-grains at the ground when partaking at the family meals.

The Rengma also take great care to wash the body and afford it all the comfort An apparent obsequies, is a chicken's sacrifice, the belief being that the chicken will scratch out the path for the dead. Like Angami and Zeliang-roung, Rengmas also partake of the funerary food.

The corpse amongst Rengmas is buried at an ancestral clan sepulchre, situated at the ancient village site The corpse is buried with the weapons and a fire-stick in the case of deceased male, but a female corpse is buried only with ornaments and apparels. Another common mortuary custom is the burial of a live chicken in a small hole apart from the grave, unlike the Angami who bury it with the corpse. Personal belongings as in Angami case

[1] These are considered as permanent grave goods not to be removed from grave-yards but left there as long as they could last.

are also displayed over the grave, with lots of food-stuffs and rice-beer. Fire is lighted over the grave for a few nights following the burial. The most favourite relishment of the Rengma dead person is a beer and a dish of chicken or indigenous fish cooked with vegetables. Mourning continues for three days as in the case of the other tribes.

The grave is about 5 to 7 feet deep or more. In the case of Angami, Chakhesang and Zeliangroung, the bottom of the grave is lined up with planks, wood or logs. Amongst Rengmas, a mat is used as an innermost cushion support to the coffin. The coffin, having been laid down, is lined up with stones before the grave is filled up with the surface soil.

It is worth-noting that those persons dying of accidents or the suicidal and homicidal deaths are laid out for burial outside the town or village perimeter; the custom subsists among all the tribes.

The Rengma Nagas have clan sepulchres at the respective village locations, while the other tribes have no common cemetery, but bury their dead in close proximity to their houses. In big towns there are Christian cemeteries. Christian burials are different but mournings and feastings are still held in the indigenous way. Christians bury their dead near the house in a small graveyard.

In the event of difficulties to bring the corpse from a far-off place where the person died, the relatives of the deceased make an effigy, the deceased's hair plucked out before burial being used at the purgatory rite.[1]

Pochuri group has marked diversification. Over the grave are planted two bamboo poles, decorated with fruits, clusters of vine or millet and gourds.

The world hereafter:—The soul during the obsequies, pending the conclusion of three-day rite, lingers near its old home and at times visits the home to partake of the food or drinks offered to it. A ceremony is also performed when a household challenge the spirits responsible for the separation of the deceased from the circle of their kith and kin still alive. The soul may have been obstructed on its path, and to get it to its safe journey, all the obsequies ought to have been observed with elaborate rituals. Otherwise the dead may have been transformed into a ghost wandering on the vacuum space and destined forever to that form.

The Zeliangroung idea is that the spirit takes first as much as it wants from the offerings of food and drinks in its old abode, but time comes when it sets off on its journey. Final separation may not be so soon as in the case

[1] The Khasis have a similar custom of representing the deceased's shadow with hair or a piece of cloth worn during its life-time

of the other tribes. The period of true separation might have been after a year, whence a purgatory rite is observed at which the spirit is beckoned home with symbols and bathed ceremonially with the Naga soap. When it is supposed to have set off on its journey, the priest invokes by addressing thus: "Take this weapon and arm yourself, take this costume and wear it; you go on to your repose with which you are eternally destined," a rite which is performed at a village boundary.

The corpse being armed and fed is thus vouchsafed to its journey; possibly it might have met afflictions but a due performance of the purgatory rites would be a great factor to help it to get over them.

The Rengma and almost all Naga tribes could not give any idea about the location of the world hereafter. To the Meluri (Rengma) group it was their ancestral home. The other Rengmas think that it is a subterranean world which, when the soul has started entering, is beckoned and led by the spirits of its own deceased relatives; perchance it has fought enough against severe hindrances before it enters, under the guidance of the guardian spirits, the company of its kith and kin, to be united to them eternally.

The following dictum holds good on the Naga idea of the after-life. "If we are good we will fly above, and live in the stars; if bad we will pass through several existences, and finally, become bees."[1]

Stone culture:—It is an essence of Naga culture. Naga megaliths have wide range of importance—both commemorative and funeral. Stones roughly fall into these groups—ossuary, pillar, dolmen, stone circle and ritual stone. It is in southern Nagaland that the megalithic erections in different shapes and styles are more abundant than elsewhere in the State, all the tribes practising megalithic rituals with variations from place to place.

A grave among the tribes is a masonry, rectangular in shape or a grave is just mounted up and covered with slabs But with the Rengmas, there is a difference because they have clan cemeteries, each big enough to accommodate the number of burials, one stone mound symbolising one deceased of the group. All the grave-yards are sarcophagus.

Ancient village sites, especially Angami have pyramidical stone structures, which provide the village watchmen with the possibility of exploring the enemy's advance. In some places, where such stone towers are no longer evident, wooden platforms with gigantic tree-trunks, and the pillars and planks which hold the platform floor are noticed where the village-folk pass out their time leisurely, or perform certain ceremonies and hold assemblies. Sometimes, announcements

[1] Mrs S R Ward, *A glimpse of Assam*, p. 190.

are made there, stone grave-yards and pillars, circles and others furnish a sight of a stone-henges at the village sites.

Memorial stones fall into the two classes, quadrilateral and verticular. The first are sarcophagus in shape which perpetuates the memory of an influential man. They look like tomb-stones. Smaller stones, the size of golf-balls, lined up their crests denote the number of heads taken by the memorialist when he was alive: or they denote the number of concubines attached to the memorialist. A man may have perpetuated himself by erecting a verticular stone; it is a pillar which sometimes go up to 8 feet height. The menhir stands in a group with twin stones which commemorate his wife and children, but compared with its total size, they are very insignificant as they do not occupy even one-fourth of its total size. The height of the menhir may have gone up from 6 to 8 feet and probably two or three feet at its vault.

When a memorial stone is raised, the whole village male population performs the herculean stone dragging in many rounds of ceremonies and in expressions of incantation and choral uproars while bearing. The task for bringing to the positioned vault is dangerous. There were cases, the traditions say, that the principal conductors in the procession lost their limbs. The stone having been extracted is carried in a wooden sledge, and the bearers use creeper plants (as ropes) to pull the sledge on.

So a vertical menhir of the same pattern, if not commemorative, is a sacrificial stone where around it, sacrifices and ceremonies are performed by the village folk.

Dolmens lie widely scattered on the house compounds facing the village streets. They afford seats to the family; at these stones, visitors are entertained; they form the meeting place of family group and rendezvous of small congregations. Such table stones may have been raised over pillars, some may have just rested flatly over the ground. Stone seats in a circle or an arch abound; stone fortifications in solid structures form the village walls, a village gate being scooped out, a wooden door of the gate which is truncate, bearing numerous wood carvings. People in the eastern extremities have their houses partly fenced with stone and even roofs are slate which they have in abundance.

The Naga village which dazzles in the brilliant colours of the stone pillars, dolmens and grave-yards at a broad daylight furnish the panoramic sight There is a sufficient evidence of neolithic culture as people are still used to stone implements such as anvils, grinding stones, utensils and basins.

Stones especially spirited have potential powers. Rock deities in some areas are believed to be the palpable and real defenders of the village. The Nagas attribute a biological conception to the stones; they are born, they grow up, they have a matrimonial system, they cohabit and they give birth. The soul substance of a person becomes finally mingled with the cenotaphs. The Nagas preserve a story of their origin from a stone.[1]

Naga megalithis are attributed to the two waves of migration from Burma, the first and the preceding wave was Austric followed by Angami. Menhirs in Angami area have striking similarities to Austric which are distributed in Khasi-Jaintia Hills and probably among Munda and their allied tribes in Chota Nagpur. But there is a difference with regards to rituals because in both the Austric linguistic zones *i.e.* Assam and Bihar-Orissa, they are mostly cenotaphs, connected with funeral ceremonies. Dimapur stones, V-shaped and oblong are of Naga origin. Semas and Aos, the two neighbouring tribes no longer raise megaliths but their traditions vividly associate them with the stone culture, which traces still survive. The log drums (resembling canoes) and wood carving arts probably have superseded stone figures[2]. But again among all the Nagas such rituals governing ceremonial gate erections of wood, institution of wooden V-shaped posts, and pulling of tree trunks during the major ceremonies, are attached to with great importance and sanctity

Sculpture rather is conspicuous by its absence. Yet there are traces of sculptural works. The stone seats connected with the Thevoma clan in Khonoma are said to have carvings with bone patterns on bison horns. At Mimi a stone in the shape of mithun's heads and footprints is seen. A stone carved as a female figurine probably associated with the cult of a phallic worship is noted at Pisa, the Zeliangroung village, in a circle of dissoliths[3] while at Photsimi is noted a menhir, carved with horizontal lines[4]. Sculptural work in Southern Nagaland may have been much influenced by their immediate neighbours[5]

Festivals:--Naga festivals aim at fertility corresponding to the different agricultural seasons. The festivals among all the tribes are similar to each other and rest upon a common background of beliefs. Below are given some of the typical instances of the festivals:

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[1] Even the Aos who no longer raise stone monuments preserve a story of their origin from a stone.
[2] The Sema also instituted such drums but they have disappeared today
[3] Choudhury, *History of the civilization of Assam*, p. 70.
[4] Eastern Rengma influence
[5] H. Bareh, *History and Culture of Khasi People*, p. 390 Probably, Kukis or their affiliated tribes such as Hmar or Viate-Vaiphe who carve stone in the form of wares or Austrics who make several animal figures in the shape of horse, rhinoceros had certain influence in southern Nagaland

I. Angami

1. *Tsiekranyi*—A seed sowing festival after *Tsie* which means seed, and *Kru* (or *Kra*) which means sow, observed annually during the month of *Keno* (February), while anterior to it, no sowing of seed is done by any household. Two days *genna*[1] is observed in which a first sower (*Tsikrau*) neither joins any feasts and drinks offered by his neighbours, nor touches any insect, as if that were done, the crops are liable to destruction by pests. During the village *pennie*,[2] two-day long, each house-hold partake in the feast prepared of mithuns, pigs and other animals and the home-made beers. The genna being over, the people then are free to sow the seed in the field.

2. *Ngonyi*—is another important festival performed during the month of *Kera* (April) at the close of the seed sowing observance. It is five-day long with which the entire village celebrate the strict pennie. Each household has plenty of boiled meat and rice beers to take.

3. *Kerunnyi* (or Thekranyi in Khonoma) —which falls during the month of *Kechu* (May). The ceremony conforms to the transplantation system of paddy seedlings into the terraced fields. It is two-day long pennie. Feasts are not on lavish scale as during the other festivals.

4. *Tsunyi* (Southern Angami group)—A millet harvest festival after *Tsu* which means millet and *anyi* which means festival. It falls either during the last part of July or the first part of August. It is two-day long *pennie*.

5. *Theyuukhupfu*[3]—which falls during the month of August, it is a children's festival when all the children exchange cooked meat among themselves. The festival is named after *Theyuu*=toad, *khu*=a plate of rice, *pfu*=give i.e., *Theyuukhupfu* (toad rice give), rather "giving the toad his rice" The festival centres round a story which suggests that at the beginning of time, a man, a mouse and a toad who were bosom friends found out rice which they managed to distribute. But the mouse finding it difficult to carry the rice, requested the man that she may be allowed to eat it in the corner of his field. The toad refused to take any rice but prayed man that it (the toad) may be offered rice once a year in its name, hence the festival of giving the toad its rice. It is interesting to note that when the festival opens, a mother in the household performs a special rice giving ceremony by giving a little rice wrapped in the plantain leaf saying 'take your share, toad, and place it somewhere under the bed'. The *genna* lasts for three days.

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[1] Genna is a ceremonial household observation in which no work is done.

[2] *Pennie* is a correct Angami word which implies suspension of business *Penna* used by Prof J H Hutton in his monograph, The *Angami Nagas*, is in the Jotsoma dialect

[3] The vuukhukwu is in Khonoma dialect used by Prof J. H. Hutton

6. *Chandanyi* (Kohima group)—A path clearing festival observed during the month of *Chadi* (July) and five-day long. On this occasion all the village paths and grave-yards are cleared; the people are not allowed to have any intercourse with strangers.

7. *Thekenyi* (Southern Angami group) –It is a two-day long genna. On the first day *Liedpfu Lied,* a woman reaper goes to the field and cuts a few heads of paddy, she will tie the stumps of rice (hays) and have a piece of mud, worm-cast pasted on them. When home she has brought them, she opens her mouth to taste. This ceremony marks the opening of the harvest Next day is *Mechu Lied* (Mechu -public) and pennie for every one, and on the following day it is open to every one in the village to reap as he pleases.

8 *Liekhwenyi* (Western Angami)—The festival centres round the reaping of *Theke,* a species of *Ahu* paddy which thrives in the jhum field. It is five day genna when on the first two days, household festivals are held with a meat of slain animals and rice-beer. But the three days which follow are spent in clearing the village paths leading to the field

9. *Vate* or *Tekede* or *Kesa Kete*– It is one day genna in Kohima group. But it intervenes to five days in Khonoma. The festival centres round the preservation of grains. Grains recently reaped are cooked, women taste the food in the leaf plates and distribute it from the baskets, and not from pans. Meat is forbidden, but they go on rice and dal (made of beans) only.

10. *Terhunyi*—The word probably derives from "Terho-nyi" literally spirit genna as *terho* means spirit. The legend goes:- "One day while returning from field a Terhoma called 'Ziesuo' followed her (a woman) and put his hands over her eyes from behind. The woman asked him to go away but Zieosuo refused to let her go until she promised him her daughter in marriage. She promised and got her release but saw no one. A few days later the same thing happened again, and again she promised, and went home with a sad heart. One day her daughter went to the field with her companions, and as she was coming home she lagged behind the others. Suddenly Ziesuo caught hold of her and took her to his home and she lived with him as his wife.

'After some time she came to her mother and said that her husband was very handsome and a wealthy man. She asked her mother to come with her and ask of him whatever she wanted, and she would receive it. She advised her mother to ask a small basket hanging on the right corner of the middle room, in which all kinds of animals are kept. They took some husks of rice and set out for the daughter's house, dropping husks along the road for fear of the old woman's losing her way home again.

"Staying some days with her son-in-law, the old woman said she must go home. Then Zeisuo said to his mother-in-law to ask anything she liked. The old woman answered that she liked many things but since she could not carry it she would only ask the little basket hanging in the right side of the room to keep her yeast in. This troubled Zeisuo and he requested his mother-in-law to ask something else. But the old woman stuck to her request by saying that she could not carry heavy things. So Zeisuo had to give her but requested her not to open the basket until she reached home. He further advised her to shut the door when she opened that basket and not to go out for five days.

"So the old woman started home with the basket. But about the middle of the way the old woman found the basket heavy, and herself longing to open it. When she opened, behold, animals of every kind, every sort of beast and those which were able to fly or run swiftly came forth and fled, and those unable to get away were again shut in by the old woman. Then she came to her house, shut the door and opened the basket and found the domesticated animals which she kept then in the house with the door shut for five days and they all became tame.

"Next year her daughter and son-in-law came to visit her and found her house filled with domestic animals. Zeisuo asked his mother-in-law to kill some fat bulls and eat them in his name. And so this festival is kept every year and called Terhunyi (Terhonyi, 'the spirit fast').[1]

This is the second most important genna to the Angamis. Complete thirteen days' pennie is observed by Kohima group but seven day long pennie by southern Angami group. Personal genna of Zhatho[2] is done in this festival Ceremonial dresses are worn while pounding 'dhan' for 'Zhathoma'. Everyone enjoys in festivities with flesh of mithuns, dogs, pigs etc. along with rice-beer.

11. *Sekrenyi*—It falls in the month of *Rude* (December) in case of southern Angami group and *Keno* (February) in case of Kohima and western Angami groups. This is the most colourful and important genna as regards festivities as maximum flesh of mithun, pigs, dogs, chicken and rice-beer are taken. Five days' genna is strictly observed. The ceremony is to ensure the health of every individual during the coming year. On the first day, in the morning every male member goes to the village wells to wash himself and his clothes and returns with a jar full of water. They will then prepare a separate hearth.

[1] Southern Angami group combine 'vate' with Theyukhupfu, Theyuukhupfu lasts only one day and the rest of the two days are for 'vate'

[2] J H Hutton, *Angami Nagas*, p 201.

Every male member will have to make his own fire, produced from a fire-stick and cane of an indigenous system. Then every one will strangle a fowl and if the right leg crosses over the left leg, then omen is said to be good. The men must remain chaste for the first two days.[1]

Sekrenyi connected with the renovation of the village gates is a colourful celebration centring round the bearing of a wooden door carefully hewned of a tree and designed in a traditional style. The tree cut off at the sacred grove is turned by the carpenters into a beautifully carved out door and laid near the Ministers' Hill in Kohima for a few nights. The day is fixed for bearing it to the site where the gate is situated That day sees the ceremonial marches of the different groups of people from the khel, all male, to the Ministers' Hill. The congregation assemble and make ready the robes with jungle creepers, elastic enough to pull out the wood while the priest mutters words of prayer to the deity of gates. The procession sets off in pompous manner, with two lines of men in a grotesque fashion holding and pulling the rope with which the wood is held out and dragged from the rear of the procession. Men are in the very best of their traditional dress unfurling with their feathered canopies, hairy badges, cowry-hemmed kilts and the multicoloured leg-guards like the sea-wave of diverse colours enchanting the eyes of the spectators They wear the dress in different fashions according to the rank and age. Pulling in the rope, they raise incantations in duet sonance along the way against the sounds of gun-shots right from the site from where the tree was removed until they emerge to the khel.

They have lots of drinks to tipple and meat to enjoy during the ceremony at their village.

II. Chakhesang

Khilunyie—at Phek, an eight day long harvest festival, is observed towards the last week of November. The ceremonies are serialised as follows—the first day conforms to the ceremonial closing of the harvest· during the second, the rice-grains are arranged, and made ready for husking. On the third day before sunrise batches of the house wives, girls and boys set out to the streams to catch fish, snails and other insects which when brought home are cooked and eaten. The whole lot is taken before sunset, nothing is spared. Men just sit waiting for the return of the fishing parties. The fourth day is complete rest. Men and women sit down on their parlours and sip on their drinking

[1] Zhatho is performed by the wealthy men who provide several mithuns and dozens of pigs to entertain the whole village.

mugs. The fifth day is a fishing celebration when women bring home small fishes from the muddy terracing grounds. The sixth and seventh days are spent in sports and games. The eighth day, which closes the festival, witnesses the groups of people collecting at the groves and plucking thatched grass, straw, creepers and bamboo for innovation or construction of houses.

Theiine, another Chakhesang festival, is paddy husking, its noted ceremonial feature is the throwing of the cooked rice-grains or pouring of libations on the floor of the house, an invocation being made to the deities to bless the household. The next two days see the ceremonial bathing of menfolk on the first and of the women on the second well, at the village, a sort of a purgatory rite before a new season is entered. On the day are performed the paddy husking celebrations. It is during this season that new house-constructions are resumed. The Chakhesang *Sakrinyi* like Angami *Sekrenyi* is one of the biggest of the local festivals, a ten day long, in which fowls, dogs, pigs and other animals are butchered, *khel*[1] feasts arranged. This festival is associated with birds' hunt and performances of sports including wrestling. The festival closes down the old year and opens out a new agricultural season.

III. Rengma

The Rengma *Ngadah,* like Chakhesang Khilunyi, is a harvest festival, 9 day long. The day that inaugurates sees every household brewing the country beers and keeping ready the herds of cattle for this great occasion of festive joy; on the second day the animals are butchered householdwise. The third day provides a spectrum of villagers rejoicing over the harvests reaped by the community, singing, dancing and toasting of rice-beer with each other. From the third day onward, all the celebrations become shifted to the *morung*, a cultural centre, on this day they organise the forthcoming programmes and arrange a *khel* feast which comes in the next day. This is a children's celebration when all the village children partake in the feasts at the morung with food provided from their respective households. The programme which follows conforms to the special feasts distributed to every house by village women at the morung.

Another principal Rengma festival, *Tsichye*, performed in the month of March, is a one-day feast held to inaugurate the tilling of the soil at the jhum field.

[1] A village locality

IV. Zeliangroung

The Zeliangroung main festival is Meleingi, the paddy husking celebration. The following are the festival days:

(1) *Hengisa* (2) *Gantan* (3) *Ruadi*
(4) *Mankan* (5) *Mipuingaia* (6) *Cingpura*
(7) *Jausar*

Preparations in advance are chalked out when at the four council sittings, the village male population sit down together to discuss and decide upon the vital programmes for the big affair. The festival is both household and morung celebration. On the first day of the festival, each household make large-scale fermentation and keep in stock festival beers to last during the festival. The household members are entertained at a sumptuous meal. During the second day, the people take their dogs, best in the breed, for butchering and feasts are held out. The third day up-till sunset is passed in leisure eating and drinking but after the sunset, all husbandmen prepare special meals which they present to their respective fathers-in-laws while wives accord courteous reception to their respective mothers-in-laws. The latter in turn present costumes to their respective daughters. On the fourth day the married couple exchange dainties and wines which the husbands and wives have cooked separately. The day also witnesses the games and sports among boys with long jumps, singings and incantations in a duet sonance. On the fifth day from each household donations are collected by women group to meet the expenditure for a khel feast. On the sixth day separate batches of household collect fuel at different groves which home they bring while husbands perform collection of donations from various households. The seventh day which closes the festival is passed in the khel feast taken at the morung.

V. Pochuri (Sangtam)

(1) *Nitsokhu*—relating to the burning of the jhums during the month of April, it is three day long On the first day, when the genna is performed, one notices the different household groups gathering on their respective houses and passing out their time idly. The second day is the sowing festival when every family is busy sowing the seed in the field. It is during the *renikhe* festival on the third day that dainties of meat are prohibited but the fish locally caught is taken at the family feast.

(2) *Nizakhu festival*—In the month of May when supplications are held to the deities and sacrifices are offered in a five-day long festival. On the first day the people waken up, will not touch any food or drinks but first hurry up

to offer the sacrifices with meat and rice. This vital ritual finished, the household can take the meals. On the second day, fermentation and slaughter of cattle on a large scale is performed, so that the drinks and meat so much prepared will last during the remaining days of the festival. On the third day, when the dawn breaks forth, various households attend their respective fields where they sow the seed. No one should eat or drink until after he or she has returned home. The next day, it is a genna, the household sipping out on their mug and eat the meat. The fifth day opens out sowing of the seeds.

(3) *Rasa*—when a ceremonial plucking of the young crops is undertaken. It is at this ceremony that boys and girls are freely mixing out. This festival held in the month of July is five-day long. On the first day, batches of boys go out into the jungle for collecting bamboo and sticks which when they are brought are distributed to the girls awaiting their return. The entire performance is jovial. Boys hum their traditional tunes and chant when attending the jungle. The second day provides a sight of young people's social meet when boys are entertained with drinks by girls specially fermented along with the boiled skin of the pieces of meat. Towards evening it is the time when the old village men at the village site are entertained with fish and a boiled corn. On the fourth day, the infant crops extracted from the ripening and green stalks are brought home ceremonially. In the evening simple meals with fish and ginger are taken in every home. *Genna* follows on the next day.

(4) *Tsutekhu*—a harvest rite, observed towards the month of August, it is three-day long. During first day the house-wives are collecting sheaves of millet, which are packed with a piece of fresh fish inside a *chunga*[1] and suspended from the main post of the house. The second day is passed by the villagers in the cleaning of all the village wells and paths. On the third day, there are lavish feastings.

(5) *Khuthei*—held in the month of November. There are no elaborate rituals but on the first day, new bamboo tubes are designed and moulded to serve as water containers for the next year. On the next day, feasting celebrations are held.

(6) *Kate*—during the cold weather, in November or December which closes the harvest season Women are busy wrapping rice and fish together in the plantain leaves which next are piled up in a basket, full of rice. It is presumed that the doing might help the household to preserve such harvested crops much more longer. They refrain from drinks on that day. But on the second day they have their meals and drinks prepared only from the newly husked paddy.

[1] A bamboo pipe, the mouth opened but the contents well closed with a shutter of a leaf

(7) *Alakakhu*—it is a festival symbolising chasing away the epidemic when every man, old and young, shoots[1] an arrow which signifies chasing out the malevolent spirit.

(8) *Vikhukephru*—a hunting ceremony when the various households take their weapons, fishing nets and apparatus and are thoroughly cleaned to ensure the availability of a plentiful games.

(9) *Khuthe*—held in the month of January when each household goes on to collect grass, palm leaf and straw for the house thatching.

(10) *Nazhu*—Conforming to an Angami Sekrenyi, the dying of an old year. The festival is connected with the feeding of the deceased ancestors and other dead persons, the festivals of games and sports and the construction of platforms on the village paths for affording rest to the farmers returning from their fields. The first four days are preliminary preparation. The most vital part of the performance is the fifth day when the deceased are called to partake at the food and drinks offered to them. Men are fasting that day but women can eat and drink. The seventh day called *Khuchi* is passed out by the village men in the jungle who try to find out a creeper where the village teams will play a tug of war but women at the early morning hours take bath at the village wells and will not eat until that is finished. The eighth is the marriage anniversary performance. The ninth day is spent in the construction of wooden seats in the village paths. On the tenth is performed a tug of war between men and women. The game will stop not until after the creeper is broken.

On the eleventh day the trees are felled and jungles are cleared. Pieces of iron are scattered in the field to divest the evil spirits' plight

All the festivals performed in southern Nagaland bear close resemblances to the Angami and probably derived from their rites. Zeliangroung festivals do not centre round fertility only but are marriage anniversaries while among the Rengma, they have bearing upon children, who during the festival are instilled a taste and training for corporate life in the village. The festivals are so designed by their originators that they have both household and khel implications, and are connected with fishing trips, sports and games, war dance, huntings, singings and incantations, house constructions, furtherance of the ties of friendliness, corporate undertakings which to the Naga are the indispensable traditions and ways of life he learns at his mother's laps and nurtures as he grows up. All the sacrificial rites are in the hands of the priests (a few Angami villages having priestesses to assist male priests). And the jovial

[1] Sangtam use arrows and bows as weapons Rengmas also once used them but later on used spears only.

gestures, the sportive spirits, the humours and jokes—all these are m of the leading festivals.

Property and inheritance:—The family organisation is pati father heads the household. In many instances, the youngest son tak share of the family wealth, but he has obligations relating to the aged parents. Wealth comprises cattle, agricultural implemen ornaments, clothing and other sets of furniture. Among the portion of ancestral landed property is immovable and inaliena plots of land belong collectively to a lineage group or a clan. But e the southern tribes, the system of keeping common ancestral land may have subsisted in the past but has become almost extinct to among the family could claim perpetual ownership to it although are entitled to exploit timber, graze cattle and practise shifting during the specific period. It is a type of a joint property which divided for many generations. Among the original inhabitants, wo inherit except gifts in the form of dress and ornaments and uten marriages. Elder brothers in the family may take proportionate sn in the shape of land and buildings thereon, groves and other item But the ancestral house or the father's family building is taken by t son. If there is only one son, he is entitled to the entire property.

Women do not get property, but widows are entitled to a moveable property for being the custodian of the household until th successor has become matureable enough to take a responsibility. I no male heir, a daughter may have become fit to be the care-taker be to its portion, but the property reverts back to the male line su If the parents were childless, the property goes back to the father's group in the event an adopted heir has not been found. Amongst Chakhesang Pochuri (Sangtam) group, the lion's share goes to th and thus presents a contrast with the other tribes.

Women have household and even social responsibilities, th priestess in many Angami villages who assists the male priests village religious festivals.[2]

Morals and marriages:—The marriage by negotiations is rule. It starts initially when the boy sounds to his parents his desi suggesting a girl with whom life partnership he wants to enter.

[1] Land tenure has become more intricate owing to a growing duplicate systems of interpretation varies from one village to another and as from one man to another.

[2] The practice probably suggests a survival of certain matrilineal customs deepl p[illegible]

As soon as their son's intention has been divulged, his parents consult the omens whether the proposal is worth trying. If the reply is in the affirmative, well and good. A go-between or intermediary, preferably a senior khel woman, is engaged to convey the proposal. Normally she visits the girl's house more than once as the matter has to be acquainted through slow degrees The proposal having been received, omens are consulted at the girl's house lest there are any clan prohibitions. If there were none, the parties settle down to the other terms and conditions. The Rengmas are an exception as they have a betrothal system by which they establish the marital background long before the marriage.

All the tribes have a system of marriage price. The price is in terms of cattle and spear-heads and others but now payment partly in cash and partly in kind may have been taken.

The marital age for boys is about twenty five to thirty five years whereas the girl's best season is eighteen to twenty-five years.

The society is a chain of both love and family arranged marriages. It is a well known fact that much of the indigenous oral poetry is inspired by love. There are many love stories and fictions, apart from the ballads and lyrics which show the blossoms of romanticism among the people A system of concubinage exists when it has developed from love relationship among the couple, it is a desperate step but the husband in such a state of settlement has to fulfil certain obligations to his in-laws in lieu of their daughter whom he has taken as his wife.

In formal marriages, the payment of the marriage price is a pre-marital condition. The bride-price varies from village to village, but is also relaxable provided very courteous and amicable relations exist between the two families The marriage ceremonies are quite simple, the marriage being more the social than religious aspect of the union

Angami marriage normally lasts for five days The ceremony starts with bridal party's procession to the groom's house, the bride being accompanied by a tiny retinue consisting of her parents, bride-maids and a few boys who sing and chant along the way. At the entrance to the groom's house, the group of the boys singing and chanting stop, and only her parents and bride-maidens enter. A unique feature in the celebration is then reception performed quietly and the entertainment of the party at the sumptuous food and drinks in dead silence. This finished, addresses are opened, whence the bride's father hands over a chicken to the groom's parents. The parents leave but the bride-maidens attend the bride who stay at her in-laws' residence, while the groom goes to stay apart in a dormitory for the whole night, he returns home not until before

the dawn. On the next morning, the bride sips from a leaf bowl the rice-beer offered by her mother-in-law. She further prepares the morning meals for whole household. The whole day is *genna.* On the next day the couple attend field work. During the next two or three days, they do not meet. It is during the stage that the groom is busy constructing the house where they would settle on. And on the fifth day the couple set themselves to their new house.

Marriage ceremonies are too diverse; they differ from village to village. The principal Chakhesang[1] custom is that the bride, when she leaves for her parents is escorted by an old woman to her in-laws, when on reaching the groom receives her; next the couple exchange beer-cups. After an interval, the groom retires to the morung but by midnight, he would visit her. It is when he has come back that his parents leave them alone. They would come back before the dawn, and when they are noticed approaching, the groom moves again to the morung. The next day the couple meet. the groom taking his own responsibility to make a new house. At night they go apart. The next day the couple start their new house, the groom taking a ceremonial meal cooked by her. That night they do not part. The next day they are in a field. Thus then starts their married life

Rengma marriage customs are more divergent owing to a betrothal system which exists. Normally girls are considered fit enough for the marital union after puberty, yet it is not uncommon that the betrothal contract was conducted much more anterior to the marriage. For among the Rengma, the parents generally decide a life-mate for their son, no matter the couple are still in their stage of infancy or have grown up. The father tenders the proposal to the girl's parents but as in the other cases, divination may have been conducted to ascertain whether the marriage union is successful. If the proposal was accepted, the father hands over a present, generally an ornament to the girl which thus symbolises the betrothal.

When the girl has attained puberty, the couple are encouraged to meet daily where they get acquainted and learn to love each other. The couple make exchange of presents, the girl giving her handloom product specimen which is exchanged with the boy's handicraft of his own workmanship. Time has drawn nigh for them to settle down, as at this stage, the groom is busy

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[1] Chakru and Khezha. Among the Pochuri group there is a ceremonial system of the exchange of rice beer during the betrothal after the girl has consented to the boy's proposal, followed by the exchange of visits and taking of meals at each other's house. During the marriage procession, the go-between woman is in the company, whence during the first night, the couple are forbidden to sleep together. A *nuru* a marriage rope hangs in the house. If cut at one stroke of a dao, it is believed to be a good sign

constructing a house. The parties settle the marriage price. The house construction ceremony is performed when the groom in the presence of the bride and her mother, lits a fire in the new house followed by the taking of meals, all these rites are done in silence. Other ceremonies follow when the bride in the company of her attendents is brought to a new house, symbolising the marital partnership. During the first few nights, the couple do not have connection as she remains with her girl attendants in his house. It is after overcoming shyness, when her companions are no longer necessary, that the couple are left alone.

During the negotiations, betrothal and other ceremonies, the bride's maternal uncle plays a considerable part which seems to indicate certain matrilineal influences, which have not yet become extinct entirely in their society.

Among the Zeliangroung, marriage lasts for seven days. During the first stage, the bride is ceremonially brought to the groom's residence; during the first three days she makes acquaintance with her in-laws, assisting them in field work and collection of fire-wood at the grove. A complete *genna* follows on the fourth day. On the fifth day, the couple visit the bride's parents who provide feasts on the lavish scale, the group of the khel being invited and entertained. On return, the couple are accompanied by a few attendants who carry food to the groom's place. The couple do not have connection all these days. The sixth day witnesses the construction of the house by the groom. On the seventh day, a fowl is sacrificed. True marital union starts when the couple shift to their new house after completing the marriage ceremonies at the groom's parental house.

Modern influences have permeated through the society for which changes in the indigenous system of marriage have become inevitable especially in urban and christian societies. The system of marriage price still exists, but perhaps relaxed among christians. For among them, marriage is solemnised at the church which lays more stress on the spiritual aspect. The tribes except Zeliangroung do not give any big marriage parties in the indigenous system But now-a-days feasts sometimes on a lavish scale have featured out in the urban area, when in the house of the bride, the party is entertained before they retreat to the groom's father's house. But at the latter a more restricted group may also have been entertained. The construction of a hut where the couple were to settle on generally is not prevalent except in the deep interior areas, where their usage and practice still keep their ancient colours It is left to the couple to decide the convenient time to form an entirely separate family.

Model of house:—Houses in southern Nagaland are not *machang* structures which were by form a great contrast of the house pattern obtained on the north

of the State. The morung (a dormitory) is an exception because there is a raised wooden platform, the floors being lined up with wooden poles and sometimes with planks. In the very exceptional cases on the uplong hill side, the houses stilted are seen, supported by the wooden pillars which are stood erect. All the Nagas of the District use trancal posts, pillars, cross-beams and batterns. The roof is thatched where from the gable, the straw is distributed alongside the roof. The thatch is a sort of a typical shrub dried by basking in the sun. The porch however, is provided in certain cases, two layers of roof.[1]

In an indigenous house, there are two main compartments with a porch. The porch through which the house is entered contains the pounding materials and a trough where pigs are fed. There fuel and bamboo accessories are also kept. The porch is further like a weaving shed where women laboriously process out their yarns and work at the loom. There, pigs, cattle and dogs are fed. Cows are tied for shelter at night near or in the porch. An outer room behind it, contains agricultural implements, uplong baskets of paddy, a weaving loom and other accessories. From the roof is seen the poultry baskets suspended on the walls where hens laying on their eggs are sheltered at night, poultry being an important part of the sacrifice and obsequies. The inner room behind is a family hall serving a multifarious purpose as a fireplace, kitchen, a bed room and a store room, congested with food-stuffs, utensils, earthen wares, bowls, saucers, gourd-bottles etc. Over the hearth, racks are suspended from the roof by which meat is dried by exposing it on the smoke. There is no chimney which makes the house smoke-stained. An indigenous bed is of the solid plank. At a small room on the rear, beers are brewed.

Nails are seldom used in the indigenous house construction as the people have cane robes and creeper plants for that purpose.

At the Primi area, slate is used for roofing, the slates having been elaborately hewned out are affixed to the wooden pillars and posts for wall-plates.

Among Rengma, a front room sometimes contains provisions of sleeping arrangements where beds with solid planks are laid. There is an additional hearth in it. The inner room constitutes another family apartment.

Several rituals are followed during the house construction. In addition to the site choice ceremony, the placing of poles, pillars, cross-beams and batterns may require a separate ceremony. There is also a hearth placing ceremony. Corporate house construction by the village is understood to have been the

[1] As in the case of northern tribes Kuki and some Zeliangroung houses however are mechang structures standing on uplong supports, discernible from Angami, western Chakhesang and Rengma style, in the former model flooring of planks, wood or bamboo is provided and therefore the house attains some spectacular height from the ground

rule when the whole village come to join hands, food and drinks being provided by owners of the house, a feature noticeable among the tribes.

Advanced people in the villages have made out more elaborate partitions. A sleeping place may have been neatly screened or a partition may have been made. There might have been more than one fireplace to meet the need of the smaller partitions. In the villages, houses roofed with corrugated sheets have substituted thatched buildings at certain places and may have floorings with planks raised from the level of the ground. But many houses though roofed with corrugated sheets, and walled with planks, poles and logs still retain the indigenous form in the village.

Another common feature is the absence of barns where grains are stocked commonly noticed in the Sema, Ao and other areas to the north. It is only Rengmas in Southern Nagaland who have them. They are small sheds raised on poles, fenced with bamboo splits and the roofs are thatched. Such barns are laid out in a group near the village.

In the newly grown up administrative headquarters, buildings where officials are accommodated, conform from types I to VII according to the planning schemes and designs of the PWD[1]; they are stilted with modern sanitary fittings, electrifications and elaborate partition schemes. Along the motor roads converging the town area, houses serving as stores or godowns though of modernized type have improvise furniture. In Dimapur, Kohima and other headquarters, many local people have built up houses on modern lines with corrugated sheet roofing, lime washed walls and ceilings. stilt, electrifications and equipped with modern furniture. The houses provide a spectrum of vast social changes varying from primitivism to modernism; similar changes in dietary, dress and fashions throw out an index of the socio-economic transformations Such changes also illustrate the growing norms in the urban areas for adaptation, modification and adjustment, but they affect a slight section of the urban population.

The indigenous style of furniture is simple. Hunters adorn their houses with horns, skulls and beaks of game. They extract the horns, bones, beaks, hairs, hide and skin and tusks for personal adornment. Beer bamboo mugs, bottle gourds, cane jugs and baskets, platters, saucers, mortars scooped out of wood, locally made earthen wares, sets of costumes and ornaments, a handloom form universal articles of Naga furniture. Seat arrangements are small wooden seats of about ½ to 3 feet of height standing on two supports. *Mula* or cane stools (cylindrical shaped) afford seats. But rows of stone blocks scattered alongside the house are

[1] Some are barracks

used for basking in the sun by the aged persons and for holding entertainment. It is interesting to see a happy folk gathering in the stones sitting and relaxing over them in the sunshine during the winter time.

Ivory, decorated spears, exquisite costumes are among the items used during the past as ceremonial and emissary presents among the Naga states and probably with their neighbours.

A joint family system being not extant, the house is small, it is rectangular. An indigenous walling of logs or rough planks is a commonly noticeable feature. We come across parts of the walls made of stone but towards Meluri and adjoining southern Tuensang, walls of slate are not uncommon. In the plains area mud plastered walls are also commonly come across.

Another characteristic feature of a wealthy Naga household is the occurrence of two crossed posts protruding from the beams over the porch so that they stretch upwards the roof, they stand as a symbol of wealth when the head of the house has given a party or feast to the village *khel* or has erected a stone memorial to keep his name alive.[1] The posts at the porch have carvings representing various animal figures and other forms of architecture abound on the pillars and walls.

Morung:—All the Naga tribes have dormitory organization known as *morung*, a sort of the bachelors' club where boys are gathered to spend the night. Morung is a vital corporate village institution as a centre of the village ceremonies, arts, music and folk-songs, and field of training to young men in undertaking duties for the village welfare. Boys over eight to ten years of age till their marriage are its members. It is thatched, walled with wood. At the porch, along the oblong wooden posts, as in Rengma style, there are carved images like mithun's skull. Angami morung is a mechang type where a porch particularly is more elevated. The Rengma as at Tseminyu is not mechang but has a stage inside where there is a fireplace. The young men pass their nights in the morung at a cubicle of solid planks. Around the morung hearths, young men raise incantations, sing songs, recite stories and poetry and plan out corporate works ere they get to bed. In the past, at the morung young men were trained in warfare.[2] Its importance has become mitigated when the spread of education has made many boys school going, but exercises great influence during the performances of village ceremonies. A veteran of the village is appointed to the supervision of the morung.

In many places, spinsters' clubs have become extinct. Otherwise in the

[1] Sometimes horns are replaced for the wooden posts.
[2] From the morung, alarms were raised when the enemy was seen approaching the village

past they were meeting places of the virgins[1] who received training in weaving and other vocations and were simultaneously disciplined for shouldering motherly responsibilities for their future. They shared the same building with bachelors' club but girls occupied the ground floor of the mechang.

Dress and Ornaments:—Dress patterns among the different tribes are the same although there are the trivial variations in the mode of wearing the dress.

The principal men's dress materials are the kilt and the wrapper, while women have the skirt, shawl, bodice and apron. Naga cloths of indigenous weaving are coarse, thick and durable and therefore congenial for the cold weather. They are woven of yarn although cotton cloths are used as bodice, aprons, underwears and other minor garments.

A kilt looping down to the knee, is a man's typical waist-dress, of blue-light colour. It is woven of yarns but a cotton is also used by Zeliangroungs. A kilt is said to have replaced or supplemented a waist girdle of small size, but even prior to the advent of the British administration the cloth kilt was a daily used garment. Men of position have their kilt decorated with two or three lines of cowries striped along its length and hemmed on the two uplong borders. They use a belt also for fastening it. A wrapper, suspended from a shoulder is worn outside a typical shirt or jacket but the latter is not a compulsory dress item.

A women's skirt is a sheet of cloth by rolling it along the waist which loops down to cover the legs. A bodice covers the breast. An apron is worn by fastening either on both the sides of the collar-bone or one end is fastened along one side and the other is suspended below an armpit. This dress often keeps the hands bare but they girdle a shawl by suspending it from one of the shoulders. The Zeliangroung skirt is blue or white but as amongst them, women also dance, a ceremonial costume may have multifarious colours.

Weaving and colour combination art differs from tribe to tribe, but the dress pattern is intrisically the same. Many of the cloths are striped on the corners or their width and entire length; the stripes run parallel, but sometimes introverted with geometrical designs and embroideries within the stripes or outside. Each tribe have their own tastes and designs of embroidery, zig-zag, horizontal and geometrical patterns.

Stripes are generally of a different colour from the main background of the cloth. The ceremonial costumes have more complex colour formations on deeper lining.

Dress without ornaments is incomplete. Ornaments in profusion which

[1] Among Zeliangroung and Angami

men wear are derived from metals, bones, cowries, shells, cane, leather, orchids and wood. Neck ornaments mainly are strings of beads, shells, cornelian stones, boar's tusks and horns. An opaque red stone serving as a necklace suspended by a thread or cane string is highly prized. A conch-shell worn with a chain of beads implies social status.[1] An ivory gauntlet is a valuable ornament; leggings are blue dyed cane rings.

Among the tribes, women's ornaments are earrings, wristlets and bracelets of brass or copper, but sometimes of lead or silver. They use copper earrings. Angami ladies have their necklaces, bracelets and an opaque red stone as a set of their ornamental dress while beads introverted with pieces of buffalo's horns are also the highly valued neck ornaments. Aesthetic as they are, both male and female use further personal decorations of wild flowers.

Dancing dress is yet more colourful. Angami men's head-dress is a coronet of horn-bill feathers, circle in shape, the feathers positioning a convex canopy frame. However, these coronets vary in form according to the status of the wearer. They are fastened at the head by the white cotton robes, held out by a circular shingle.

Ceremonial male body garments differ from place to place. The hand-woven sashes or baldrics of mixed hues are worn as scarves which, wide enough, crossing on the chest, cover the body but make the arms bare. They may have been worn over a sleeveless jacket or a *ganji* or a shirt. On the breast, badges specially made of cow's tail introverted with animals' hairs neatly polished are also worn. Among Chakhesang (Meluri and Pochuri group), an apron suspended from the collar-bone replaces the baldric, the apron looping down is enfolded at a waist forming a kilt below. Sometimes they substitute the feather's bonnet by a tight conical cane helmet which top-most fringes are decked with red-dyed small feathers; in other places, they use horns in place of coronets, may be rhino, buffalo or mithun type. Neck ornaments are sometimes introverted by twigs of hair or pieces of horns. Sometimes necklets are of bone dyed with a bamboo decoration but with strings of red, yellow and other colours and a pendant of conch-shell. The waist is rolled by a belt, and a tail of hair is worn behind it. White cotton robes are looped down the kilt. Leggings are the dyed red or black cane rings. But sometimes leg guards in the form of long stockings made of cane straps of red and yellow hues are worn, introverting with white colours. The waist may

[1] Today it stands rather for wealth as head-hunting has become a story of the past. Ordinary men today wear kilt hemmed with cowries which in the past was forbidden to a common man and confined only to the head-hunters glorified in society.

have been trimmed with rings of cowries. On the elbow, ivory armlets[1] or red and yellow and checkered cane gauntlets adorned with cowries and shells or sleeve-guards coloured in red with horizontal stripes are used. Earrings are of brass, square glass drops, bears' tusks, decorated with dyed goats' hair and cane but sometimes bones are adorned with red hairs; they are inserted in the lobe-holes of an ear, fastened with the cotton bunch. But a piece of boar's tusk nicely designed is also used as part of earrings. Long back it was interpreted that a collar of red-dyed goat's hair trimmed with the tresses of his human victims—probably unfortunate women and children butchered as they went outside the village to fetch water—was also decorated with white cowries. The special badge of the warrior is analogous to the military colour badges of rank of the civilized nations. With spears and shields in his hands, the baldrics and kilt which unfurl, a Naga warrior resembles in the mode of dress a typical Roman war man; women use brass wristlets but men also use earrings made both of copper and brass.

Angami coronet style is more elaborate than the Rengma which does not protrude into a canopy form but is much reduced having only three feathers, held by the bamboo clip. Men in the north wear the long scarlet goat's hair ornament of an Angami pattern. They use brass earrings; necklaces are of beads, seeds, bear's tusk and others. A piece of wood hemmed with cowries, is used to adorn the chest together with the scarves which cover the breast. A hairy tail is also worn.

The Pochuri Sangtam group however show some marked diversifications. Men's waist band is much more smaller but the upper part of the body is more covert. They wear brass rings but much smaller. Their smoking pipe is of bamboo. Their hair style is like Angami.

All the items of dress—helmets, cowries, badges, were vindictive of achievements in warfare and head-hunting. Dress implies status. Therefore there are variations in the way of dress from one person to another as from one group to another. But in principle, dress patterns of all the tribes in the District are the same.

In the town areas although scarves and blouses of modern designs are used as supplementary dress items of mill-made fabrics, ladies still keep intact their original skirts woven locally. In the urban places, men have used modern dress patterns although they still love to suspend from the shoulder their age-old mantle which shelters them from cold said to be as warm as an overcoats. Schools

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[1] Ivory armlets have decreased as watches have been widely adopted

have adopted a shawl as school uniform. In fact primitive, indigenous and modern dresses go side by side which provide a spectrum of the vast changes.

Mention may further be made of rain shields. A typical rain-coat covering the body is in convex woven of the very soft, neatly polished fibres probably made of a sapper but the concave is straw, the same type being used for thatching roofs of houses sewn layer upon layer. It is rain-proof. There is also a rain-hat made of fibres suspended by a string. Another rain shade is of straw sewn lengthwise the bamboo frame, with cane strings and buttons for tightening it to the body. Both men and women use this sort of rain shade at cultivation in the field.

Ceremonial weapons are swords, spears and shields which bear different artistic modes and expressions which are as much varied. The spear is at the shaft decorated with a red dyed goat's hair, but the style of hair decoration is so varied. Probably red colour is a device to quench the thirst of blood when there is peace but signifying too that war haunts are part of Naga festivals. In many instances, the hairy bulbous fringes are not uniform along the shaft, the central point being kept bare with which the spear is handed in the arm. The introversion of hairs is such that at parts they are bulbous, at parts are thinly sewn while some have hair decorations near the point of the head leaving the remainder bare. The sword, not to speak with accuracy, is the typical dao having an improvise sheath hung behind the waist. Dyed red hairs furnish the necessary decoration on the sheath when used in dancing but such decorations are more extant among the Sema and the other tribes. Spear and dao heads are the important items of iron work.

The shield is a sheet of hide, an oblong rectangular shape, the hide in the concave position is nicely bounded to a bamboo support at the convex. Plumes also crown the shield decorated with white cowries. The hide is tiger's or leopard's or elephant's or bear's. Shields scooped of wood or made of steel were not used as among the other tribes although Nagas have a lot of wicker work. It is an exquisite sight of decorated weapons, handed by persons according to their age and experience in the sports. It was quite possible in the past that warrior chiefs were handled the superior patterns of weapons uncommon to others. Spearing within a radius of 25 to 50 yards is said to be an average sport.

The outstanding weapon of Pochuri is a cross bow with a double-barbed arrow about a foot long. The arrow head is of iron, the feather is a sort of a leaf to help it fly with a rotary motion, commanding great accuracy. The arrows are shot by supporting against the hip. The spear-head is small but the shaft is an ornamented shape of the goat's hair. Like other Nagas they wear the dao by suspending it in a wooden scabbard behind the waist.

Zeliangroung Dancers

An Angami Naga Gate Pulling Procession to the Khel at the Street of Kohima

Husking Dance

Rengma Dance

A Chakhesang Mother

Exhibitionary Grave-yard

Before the Harvest Comes

But Pochuri war helmet is of cane in the coronet style adorned with bear's hair at the base and goat's hair, dyed red and black over it. They used also to tattooe on the chest in two parallel lines denoting Roman *X* and *V* alphabet in front of the chest, the tattoo is imprinted about 4 or 5 inches deep.

Hair dress:—The Nagas both men and women have a traditional style of hair dress. Among the women, while the virgins are hair-cropped, the married, on the contrary keep their hair long but regularly combed, for which purpose, a typical comb, its teeth of cane is used. Both young and aged women roll the hair into a queue accumulated behind the head. Men have a traditional fashion of hair-cut, it is a round-cut style. The appliance however is improvise comprising a dao and a wood-sap as an underneath support when the hair is cut. No other blade or scissor is used. But a scale, a sort of a ring, is used to shirk off the combings during the cut. Some men keep their hair uncut but clump into a knot which loops down behind the head about six inches long or more, sometimes differentiated from those who undergo the regular hair cut. There are the local Naga barbers in headquarters market who are professional in the traditional system.[1] But modern fashions have become rampant for which, the service of saloons and expert barbers has become necessary.

Food and drinks:—The people relish meat, for which reason domesticated animals are kept both for food and sacrifices. Pork is more relished as pigs are more in number than the other kinds of breed. Cows are perhaps more scarce in number. Mithuns have become rare but in the past almost every village is said to have had at least tens of pairs of them. Dogs considered as special delicacies are reserved for festive banquets. Slices of meat with entrails of animals slain are dried by suspending on kitchen racks, meant for longer preservation. Fish both fresh and dried is taken. But quantities of fish dried towards the interior villages are rather negligible, so that there are more imports from outside. Pork, beef, chicken, fish and mutton are prepared into various curries both in the indigenous and modern systems. Meaty soups boiled with vegetables or herbs are the favourite traditional dishes taken with meals. They relish cooked, smoked and broiled meat. Games including wild animals, birds and fowls are all taken. Bears, deer, hares, rhinos, elephants, boars indeed almost all the available species are taken. Snails and frogs are considered to have more food value than fish itself. However there are taboos restraining the taking of certain dishes at all times among some clans.

Bamboo shoots prepared into vegetable curry is a favourite dish. *Kachu* and other vegetable herbs are common. Condiments prepared with wild

[1] Some have used modern appliance for hair cut

vegetables, salads and tuber roots are used. Dals with the local pulse and *til* are rich. Generally they prefer hot tastes with chillies. *Chutneys* of beans, chillies, a bit of meat or fish paste are refreshing. Vegetables recently adopted have supplemented the indigenous ones.

The Naga dietary is very much varied as meat is taken without restraints which in turn gives physical vigour, strength and nutritive powers.

Rice, millet, maize, *kachu* plant and now-a-days potato form the common cereal crops.

Of the modern beverages adopted widely, tea is more relished. Milk of cows has been taken even towards interior areas. *Tamuls* (areca nuts) and *pans*, (betel-vines) though for the past, confined largely to the north as a social customary practice, have also been taken to the south.

Largely adopted are the groceries and snacks in the urban area. Curry prepared with spice and frying have formed part in the household menu but supplemented with the indigenous Naga preparation. The dietary system has been changing rapidly in the towns.

The Naga system of fermentation is everywhere almost the same. The Kohima country spirits are mainly *Pitha* and *Rohi*. The former is a mild drink for which rice first is soaked in the water for one day when next it is threshed until it becomes completely powdered; the preparation is next laid inside an enclosure generally an elaborately compressed basket which holds the water and does not let it pour out. Powdered yeast is mixed and the basket is kept well close after a warm water is stirred with the mixure and kept in that way for two to three days. Generally the undissolved grains are left but the addicts say that the beer taken together with them is quite refreshing.

In the preparation of *Rohi*, rice first is cooked in a vessel and the rice thoroughly boiled is spread over a mat or a cane tray for some time. Then the powdered yeast is mixed with the cooked rice. This being over, the preparation is exposed for about one hour or so before it is laid down in a basket, the latter being lined up within with layers of plantain leaves, the mouth thoroughly shut. The basket is again kept warm by wrapping it in a warm cloth before it is removed to a cold and shaded place. Thus after two or three days, it is stained to another vessel by a cane net or a bamboo tube. It needs more fermentative power usually twice of quantity of that applied in the case of a *Pitha*. And thus it becomes a strong liquor. Yeast is not the only fermentative power, but sprout paddy ears (when thoroughly dried and powdered) and even certain wild berries are used. Of course people who have market facilities prefer yeast. Crops comprising rice, millet, maize and job's tears are all brewed but rice is the best. Rengma,

Chakhesang and Zeliangroung use the common types of drinks *Rohi* and *Pitha* but as regards to details in the methods of squeezing the liquid, keeping of the preparation, straining devices, there are minor differences.

Drink is a tribal way of entertainment. A weary traveller finds it welcome for quenching his thirst in a scorching heat and similarly for warming in the cold weather. Ceremonies cannot become complete without pouring of libations, a festival drink is a must at festive banquets, and arduous works and physical exertions are undertaken with its help. Tribal beers are said to be nutritious enough as they contain large proportions of proteins and vitamins. But intoxicating drinks have an evil in spoiling individual and national character; it has been found that extravagant addiction has put to waste many great talents which if, on the contrary properly channelised, could have been of great use to the community.

Games and Sports:--The common sports comprise high jumps, long jumps, stone weighing and javelin. The spear is a main weapon although it has got religious significance during any practices of exorcise, when the evil spirits are warded off. It had more religious significance in the good old days of head-hunting. In the interior areas, cultivators still use it for fighting with the wild animals and protecting their fields from the brute's damage, and on occassions for protecting themselves from the robbers. Spikes are further used in large number when traps and pitfalls are set to the game Peg-tops is the favourite game of the village boys. Wrestling is a man's championship. During recreational hours both men and women play bean games. Schools have introduced various athletics. Slings with stone, an indigenous game, are used for birds' hunt.

Fascinating games range from elephant or rhinoceros to squirrels and small birds. Corporate system of hunting big games such as tigers, hares, deer, wild pigs, bears exists. It is a system of picketing the hunting ground at respective locations by groups of men; dogs smelling the trace give the sign of the game's whereabouts and yells, shouts and cries raised by picketeers, provocative enough to an animal, thus instigate it to come out and face the challenge, which when it has come is speared and speared from one position to another until it is fallen out. The hunters thereby save their fields from the ravage of the brute Elephants likewise are hunted corporately but hunters take up positions from over the trees, who shriek at the animal which when irritated, sets itself at random, upon which, the hunters spear or shoot it till it succumbs to the injuries. The tusk, horn, and feathers are valuable items of the game. They also use pitfalls to trap the animal.

In hunting, Nagas are expert, stories being told of adventures in hunting,

their skill in circumsventing the game. *Morung*-wise expeditions are ceremonial. They perform divination to ascertain whether the expedition is worthwhile.

They use several devices to catch fish. Fishes of hill-streams although small are considered to be more tasty than those available from the neighbouring places. The experts in the game use weirs for small catches. Fishes both dried and fresh have religious importance in connection with the observance of certain fertility rites, but less commercial importance, except in the eastern Chakhesang area on the banks of Tizu where fishes are caught, dried and transacted on a small commercial basis. One device used in fish catching is by tossing the pebbles and small fishes are then caught by hand. In the larger catches, a more popular device is by damming the river bed so that when the river bounds away over the diversion, fishes laid stuck in the mud are caught. Another way is by driving away the fishes to a net, the barricades with ferns having been made that fishes do not move beyond it. Aconite plants available locally are also used for poisoning which accounts for an easiest and a largest catch.

There are many ceremonial hunting and fishing expeditions. On such expeditions fishing is undertaken on a truely corporate basis. The expeditions being pre-planned, elaborate arrangements are made in advance as regards the distribution of work and other allied matters. The hunting party on return celebrate their victory in a jovial manner. Hunting is one of the most popular sports among the Nagas. The shares are distributed in accordance with the age and rank of the fishers or hunters.

Christian Conversion—historical background:—As a large percentage of the local population is Christian, it is necessary to examine the growth of the church.

Christianity has been the greatest of the factors which have caused the present transformation in Nagaland touching all the vital aspects of socio-economic and religious life. It was about 70 years ago that the Gospel first came to Kohima. The antecedents leading to the advent of Christianity may briefly be outlined thus—the pionnering work for conversion of the Nagas was done as early as 1835-40 by Rev M. Bronson at Namsang in the present Tirap District among the Nocte (Namsang and Borduria) Nagas, the missionary opened a school and encouraged the Noctes to earn their livelihood by working in the newly opened tea gardens. He also introduced advanced methods of salt-excavation in the brines. But Bronson's service was short-lived, for very soon, and owing to unavoidable reasons, he had to leave the Nocte Naga Hills.

The old American Baptist Mission hitherto set up at Sibsagar, was in contact with many Naga traders; a few of them had deliberately came to hear the

Gospel. It was in 1851 that the first Naga (an Ao) came to be converted. Having reaped this first fruit, the Sibsagar Mission resumed intensive efforts to spread Christianity in the Ao bordering villages. The pioneers who came into the field were Mr Sobongmeren, a local Naga convert and Mr Godhula, an Assamese evangelist. They went over the habitation, they visited many villages bordering on the plains and they preached the Gospel with the support of Sibsagar Mission. Their work was gratifying for in November 1872, nine Nagas more came to be converted at the church in Sibsagar. E.W. Clark at Amguri, elated by the successful performance of the two local evangelists, came up the hills, and opened a mission at Molungyimchen (Dekahaimong). Many more came to be converted, a new Christian khel sprang, the work soon spread to the other tribes beyond the Ao area.[1]

Inside the present Kohima District, it was Rev C. D. King who started in 1878 the mission work. Chumukedima was the first mission camp, but it was shifted to Kohima after the headquarters were transferred. King's labours became fruitful not until 1885 when the first Angami came to be converted. King's successor, Dr Rivenburg printed the first Angami booklets and opened a few schools. The work then spread to the other tribes --Rengma, Chakhesang, Sema and the Zeliangroung of Southern Nagaland.

The number of the Church association and baptized adults as of April 1967 is as follows[2]:—

Name of Association	Churches	Number of Baptized Adults
Angami Association ..	.. 56	4,900
Chakhesang Association	.. 60	4,042
Zeliangroung Association	27	1,100
Rengma Association .	.. 10	870
Kuki Association ..	. 23	1,368[3]

The above figures relate to baptized adults only and do not cover the total Christian population

According to the Angami Baptist Association's *report* of 1968, the total Angami Christian population numbers 14,000, out of the total population of 29,684 souls. The number of churches in the association is 59 and baptized adults number 6,000. Available reports show that Christian works have still been receiving impetus.[3]

[1] The mission station later on shifted to Impur on Asetkong range
[2] Gillespie's report -*Baptists in Babel*, pp. 1-2.
[3] By the census of 1961, 39,882 persons in the district are Christian.

Indigenous leadership has grown up very fast since foreign Baptist Mission was withdrawn about 1955-56. But even during pre-independence many zealous and devoted local churchmen and women had made great sacrifices for Christianity in educational, literature, adult literacy and other voluntary services.

Salesian Mission, Catholic: It was only five years ago that the mission has become established in Kohima, the initial work being started about 1957 by the clergymen who shifted their activities between the hills and the plains. The Catholic mission has English Schools at Kohima, Peren, Dimapur and Puruba and produced a few leaflets in Angami. This church has about 3,000 communicants at present.

Other groups: There are also revivalist and pentecostal movements with but very negligible membership. The groups are not dissenters from the Baptist but their system is mainly eschatological.

Church services: It is important to note the various social services rendered by the Church also. On the present transition, one Naga writer notes thus—"of the various steady and massive influxes and modernizing influences into the Naga life, the work of the American Baptist Mission stands out clearly, particularly in the area of education, sanitation, literature and the introduction of a religion of universal brotherhood. The enlightenment has opened the minds of the Nagas to a wider world. Head-hunting has been replaced by a keen desire for education, and earn one's status in this new way".[1]

Another writer, also Naga remarks· "Spirits were curbed with the adoption of the new faith. Wanton killing was realised as a sin in the light of the gospel of Christ".[2] In fact Christianity has helped eradicate many ill-fated practices and customs like head-hunting, sorcery, human sacrifice, magic, warfare system and inter-tribal fueds. It has replaced them with modern intellectual pursuits like the spread of western education, literacy and improved standards of living.[3]

Professor Fürer-Hamendorf is of the opinion that it was Christian missionaries who have mainly been responsible for adulteration of Naga culture. For instance the feasts of merits have lost their vitality owing to the non-participation of Christians. Tea has replaced home-made beers; otherwise the beers are nutritious enough. Similarly Christian Nagas have lost their knowledge of wood-carving which used to constitute not only an art but means for subsistence.[4]

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[1] *A common perspective for North-East India*, P. Moasosang, *On Naga Search for Self identity*, p. 52

[2] *A common perspective for North-East India*, M. Horam, *possible avenue of approach to the Nagas*, p. 162.

[3] *Religion and society, Vol IX No 4, December 1962. p* 37, H. Bareh, *on christian conversion and transformation in the hill areas of N. E. India.*

[4] *Naked Nagas*, pp. 51-55.

That Christianity has been the most contributing factor towards the social transformation, there is no denying, coupled with rigorous measures adopted by the Government, when administration was established in these hills, to wipe out head-hunting and blood-feuds[1] for which, as a repercussion, human character has become ennobled and more refined. Not to speak of head-hunting practice alone, slavery was rampant among all the Naga tribes during the last century.

But greatest was the Church contribution for bringing about the present peace in Nagaland, after a decade of disturbances, havoc and insecurity; it was on the foundation laid down by Church leaders that the peace mission was born which spared no pains on their part, to enter rounds of negotiations for cease-fire undertakings with the federalists.

Church Organisation: In 1967-68, there were 58 organised churches in Angami area, each was self-supporting, with 8 full-time and 2 voluntary workers. There is an Angami Baptist women's society which has been rendering financial support to the old Testament Bible translation work There are four different associations under the women's society. Different women groups perform other hospitality works by visiting sick and leprosy patients, and by providing materials and programmes for Christian Home week. It is this Association which is keeping one girls' hostel and which provides funds to support students in theological and bible schools and evangelists in the field. All other tribes, the Rengma, the Chakhesang and Pochuri group, the Zeliang and the Kuki have their respective Baptist women's societies.

Yet more vital has been the part played by Christian Endeavour Youth Groups in social service side, the groups undertake manifold welfare works for supplying necessities to invalids and poor, cleaning the khels and taking care of orphans. They further seek to promote spiritual life by arranging gospel teams. Each tribe have christian endeavour promoter who organises social services.

Among the educational institutions, mention must be made of the Vernacular Bible School at Kohima which before the disturbances, had produced 15 trained men According to the *Report of Angami Association*, 1966, English medium schools were started in Jotsoma, Khonoma, Dimapur and Ghaspani by the Baptist Council. Recently the Vernacular Bible school which temporarily closed, has been reopened. There is an English Medium school at Pfutsero owned and maintained by the Chakhesang Church Association. The Kohima Centre had been supporting a few years ago Christian work at Pochuri also

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[1] *Tribal Awakening*, p. 101. H. Bareh, *on politics in tribal areas*

All the tribe-wise Church Associations fall into the Nagaland Baptist convention affiliated to the Christian Baptist Council of North-East-India. A plan recently has been drawn for starting a press to cater literature productions in different Naga languages. There is no denying the fact that disassociation with the foreign missionaries has posed certain problems whilst in turn it has opened the greater avenues for shaping local leadership, for developing the local talents and for making the local church more and more self-supporting.

The church income is drawn from the offerings, tithes and other contributions rendered by its members. The regular annual budget in the Angami association is Rs 4/- per member per year. On occasions, other special subscriptions are also raised. The affairs of the church are supervised and guided by the Angami Baptist Church Council. So other tribes have respective church councils. The church has other religious projects to provide the necessary forms of assistance to the needy and deserving. The Kohima Christian Centre has lately drawn up schemes to start terracing and a fishery pond at Dimapur as programmes for economic uplift.

The women's associations are raising funds by collecting a handful of rice, collection set apart from the daily family stocks of each household, or by soliciting one day's wage, or by the sale of handicrafts and with the funds so raised from church members they support various church projects.

It is important to note that the Baptist Christian percentage in the Angami tribe is at present 47%.

APPENDIX

Rengmas on Borpathor in Mikir Hills District: A cognate of a branch of Rengma Nagas from the hills may deserve a brief emphasis and it is necessary to dwell on their historical and cultural links with their parent tribe in the Naga Hills. At present they are found scattered in the villages of Pharnang, Mouzadar, Khuwani, Youngpathi, Khirang, Bolungsu in close proximity to the Mikir and Garo villages which surround. Nambarnadi is a nearest tea estate to their habitat. Most of them have become christian and because of this, coupled with other socio-economic factors, they have undergone great change. They speak Rengma language but a different dialect. In their present abode and other places they had migrated through, their culture is intrinsically the same with their parental culture in the hills. Any divergence from the latter in certain beliefs, laws and customs, rituals and other cultural practices is as much trivial, a result of both a long separation and their adaptability to suit in with the new conditions dictated by circumstances. Yet these people owing to a long separation appear to have been forgetful of their history and of their ancient home.

These people maintain the same religious beliefs and have the same names of deities and practise the same fertility rites of the Rengmas in the hills. They bury their dead in the same way and keep similar family grave-yards marked with stones. Other mortuary customs such as a day or night long retention of a corpse in the house, the manner in which the corpse is cared and dressed, the burial of a chicken near the grave are the same. As amongst Hill Rengmas, the corpse, if male, was armed with a spear, but in the case of a woman, she carries a basket and a dao. The people are found to retain the other salient features of race, culture, religion and language possessed by their cognate in the Hills.

Marriage takes place one year after betrothal but in lieu of a marriage price, a would-be groom goes to work in the field of the bride's parents till the date he is married, when the couple start to make a separate household of their own.

The manner of wearing a dress is also the same in which men are unfurled with feathered helmets, scarves, baldrics or aprons suspended from the shoulder, tightened enfolded lengtas or kilts while in the case of women, shawls suspended from the shoulder, aprons tight at the collar bone, blouses and skirts are the same. Dietary has not changed while they prepare both *Roht* and *Pitha* by a system of fermentation in their original way. Economy has perhaps gained more proportion because they practise both *jhuming* and permanent cultivation but the latter is different from that practised in the hills[1] and grow variety of cash, vegetable, fruit and cereal crops.

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[1] Only Nagas in foothills understand this type of permanent cultivation and apply it. In the records we find references to Naga terracing grounds (*khats*) and fishing waters (*bhils*) in the plains.

Perhaps a few have been accustomed to the use of plough animals. Some are pastoral and rear cows, buffaloes, pigs, sheep and goats. A few men earn their livelihood by selling meat of the game in the *hats*. Smithery has dwindled as many have used different tools, weapons and implements. They still have weavers but cotton is gaining more popularity than yarn for weaving of daily used clothes as it is more suitable for a hot weather but many still keep their original mode. But weaving techniques may have shown certain variations in some cases.

As they are in contact with business establishments, they have more access to tea estates, railway stations and road building where they find out supplementary means of employment

Rev W. R. Hutton was the first missionary into these villages. Christian conversion started about 1932 but within a short span of 35 years it has made an unbelievable progress in that an entire population has almost become Christian. They use an Assamese Bible but hymns are in the Roman alphabet. They have Women's Association, Christian Endeavour and other groups. They have started also some schools.

According to a tradition, a Rengma Chieftain titled Kahamphukan was invested by the Ahoms, the Rengma area in the plains being known as an Ahom protectorate, in exchange of which, the Rengmas paid tributes to and assisted Ahoms against their enemy. Each village has a chief who wields social and religious influence, he is assisted by a small executive body for carrying day-to-day administration. We learn that in 1841 Lt. Bigge recognised the Rengma *Kakatis* and implored them to shift their allegiance to the British Government after it was established. They were authorised to collect taxes on behalf of Government and were paid commissions. For some time, the Government entrusted to them a task of checking raids from the hills.

In 1871, John Butler again reinstituted the Rengma chiefs. Rengma mouzah was further included in the Naga Hills District when it was formed, but perhaps about 1881-8, it was bifurcated. All these villages at present have been included in Mikir Hills[1] and in accordance with the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India, one Rengma representative has been included in the Mikir Hills District Council. They still maintain their old panchayat system of village government and village council is the vital administrative, legislative and judicial body. Their history seems to be full of constant movements and for a long time, these people were migratory until they came to inhabit the present villages. At one time they lived on the banks of Rengmapani known in their language as *Deikrung*.

[1] Mikir Hills comprise a large portion of the plains tract over a wide expanse located far from the hills

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION

Methods of cultivation

SOUTHERN Nagaland exhibits the wet-rice terraced cultivation practised through the ages while it is absent elsewhere in the State. But it is practised side by side with *Jhuming* which consists during its first stage, of clearance of the shrubs, surface soil with the undergrowth at the autumn season, while the conservation of the ashes for manuring is practised during February or March After felling the jungle, the common practice is that trees and shrubs are exposed to sunshine, which when become dried are burnt. Jhum cultivators have to be particular about the process of clearing the soil during cultivation.

Jhum cultivation stands on the field only for two years but jhum cycle might have covered five to nine years. Jhum cycle's duration however is more limited in Nagaland than in other neighbouring hill tracts. This is because of the efforts made by administration and villages themselves to keep portions of their forests protected from undue and constant ravages. Its main disadvantage is its deleterious effect on soil's fertility, so that its reproductivity is hardly ever replenished. Experience however has shown that it is difficult to set down further innovations in jhuming as its protagonists have argued that the traditional system is the most practical form on the steep hill sides. Moreover it helps avert the pests while fertilising the soil by adding sulphur. But the yield per acre of jhum lands is comparatively lesser and fluctuates for instance while a single jhum field might give 50 maunds during the first year, the output next year, might have dwindled to 30 maunds.

The proportion of jhum cultivation in the District is 20% only while in Tuensang and Mokokchung Districts, it occupies as much as 70 to 80%.[1]

The *Naga Jhum Land Regulation* 1946, gave the original inhabitants absolute rights over their jhum lands and recognised their eligibility to practise shifting cultivation, clear the forests and graze cattle. Lands other than those already acquired by Government, belong to one community which comprised one village or more than one. But the Regulation is no longer tenable owing to the enforceable Naga Forest Act 1968 and the Nagaland (Requisition and

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[1] *Naga agriculture*, pamphlet.

Acquisition) Act 1965[1] which give Government absolute rights to carve out forest reserves and acquire any plots of land for its purpose.

According to the local traditions, the Angami terrace system is as old as the tribe itself, the system believed to have been brought from its ancient home.[2] In its nearest confines, it bears resemblance to the Monpa and the Apatani systems, prevalent in western NEFA but there are differences with regards to details.[3] The Angami system is an elaborate form of terracing and irrigation, for which bunds are raised across the terrace for the purpose of irrigation. The terraces are cut up along the rugged hills sometimes high up to over 6,000 ft. Terraces leaned up against the stone retaining walls at the different levels get themselves protected from the soil erosion and help regularise distribution of irrigation.

From the rivulets and water splashes, the main sources of irrigation, channels of enormous length are dug to carry water and overflow the terraces. Bamboo pipes sometimes serve as supplementary irrigational means down the slopes where terraces are located. Paddy plantations require to stand in water during the transplantation stage in May or June which might extend up to August. The common paddy cultivable in the wet rice plantations is *sali* with its different varieties while *ahu* thrives best in the jhum fields. It is during transplantation that fields are over-flooded.

Only recently at Dimapur and its suburbs that the local Naga cultivators have adopted plough animals for paddy cultivation but mechanised farming is yet a new thing.

Principal crops:—As early as 1840-41, Robinson gave a description of agriculture in Naga Hills thus, "every portion of culturable land is most carefully terraced up the hills, as far as rivulets can be commanded for the irrigation of the beds; in these localities, rice forms the only object of cultivation. *Arums* and *yams* the Nagas have in great abundance, but are for the most part found wild about their villages; they have also some large capsicums, good ginger, and a few cardamum plants. Cotton is frequently grown on the sides of the hills; and with it is often seen a species of grass (*lachryma jobi*) .... tez-pat...is abundant everywhere...and wild tea-plants in considerable quantities grow in their hills."[4]

During the last century, rice produced from Zeliang areas was considered

[1] Details see forest and revenue sections.

[2] The parallel system still exists in Philippines.

[3] It has been surmised that wet-rice terraced cultivation was introduced by the ancient Austrics in Assam (H. Bareh, *History and Culture of Khasi People*, p. 311)

[4] Robinson, *Descriptive Account of Assam*, p. 390-91.

to be of good quality. Till the 2nd World War, the District was considered to be rice surplus. Among all the Naga tribes, the staple crops are mainly rice and millets, but the cultivation of millets and maize and job's tears graded as supplementary crops have rather been dwindling. Rice along with other crops on large scale are used for the fermentation of country's spirits. The main millet varieties grown are (*a*) the great and the Italian, (*b*) the red-leaf, and (*c*) the giant millets. Maize thrives also in Eastern Chakhesang and Zeliangroung tract, the crop being used as cereal, and also as a fodder for pigs. Millet or potato at places is grown in rotation of paddy.

Job's tears (coix lachryma) another popular crop, does not require much care and thrives even in dry and poor soils. *Kachu* or arum is grown in considerable quantities. Oil seeds comprise black and white seeds. The Rengmas are the renowned cultivators of cotton, a principal cash crop grown more intensively at the close of the last century. The cultivation is confined both to the highlands and foothills. The cotton grown locally is described to be of superior quality. Sugar-cane in small quantities on the hills are grown in small farms although the crop is inferior. Intensive cultivation of sugar-cane has been undertaken in Dimapur by farming co-operatives for feeding the Khandsari sugar plant.[1] Among other minor crops mention may be made of jute (confined to the plains). Soya beans is also grown on home scale. To the above we may add indigo which the weavers use for dyeing but it is small-scale.

The main vegetable crops comprise gourds (bottle, red and white), melon, lentils, cucumbers, spinaches, leaf mustard, onion, chillies, garlics, shallot pumpkin and brinjals. They are grown both in homestead gardens and farms. The other varieties mainly winter vegetables comprise turnips, khol-knol, raddish, carrots, beets, letuse, cabbages, cauliflower, peas : almost all these crops have just been introduced and might have bright prospects for a more intensive cultivation. For preparing the different varieties, the soil is dug and manured and in many cases seeds are grown by dibbling in the little holes. But cabbage and cauliflower require transplantation Local dals, pulses and beans in a great variety are grown. Tomatoes of different varieties are also grown. The local tree tomato is in fruit bearing stage for six months. Many Naga cultivators have recently migrated to Dimapur and started vegetable plantations of cabbages, cauliflower, brinjals, leaf mustard, cucumbers, mustard-seed, gourds, tomato. chillies and beans. The District is hardly self-sufficient in

[1] A sugar mill is being set up at Dimapur where soil conditions are said to be encouraging for sugar-cane cultivation Large-scale plantations are assigned to farming co-operatives located at Dimapur The crop is by far superior to that grown in the hills.

respect of these varieties, and some are also brought from outside while Dimapur has become a vegetable supply centre.

Fruits in the District are not plentiful except pine-apples cultivated at the foothills, for which Medziphema (Ghaspani) is the principal producer. From Ghaspani, pineapples have fetched certain trade with the uplands and the neighbouring plains. In the foothills on small scale are grown mango, guava, limes, papaya and other inferior tropical types.

In the uplands, pears is grown in small scale. Oranges are not plentiful; a few fruit varieties are brought from outside. But horticultural experiments have recently shown that temperate varieties such as apricots, leaches, plums, peaches and even apples might have bright prospects for further cultivation.

Principal crops-location:—The Rengma hills hold the bulk of sugar-cane cultivation in the District which with cotton constitute the main cash crops. Sugar-cane also thrives well in Zeliang area; it is grown by the Angami Nagas west of Kohima and by the Chakhesangs. Betel-vines and oil-seeds are grown by Zeliang and Angami tribes on the north-western zone. Potato recently introduced in the District, grows more in the central and eastern portion but sweet potatoes thrive more in the foothills.

Seasons for the main crops:—Generally the sowing season for terraced rice-fields is April-May. The grain ripens towards October, the harvest occurs usually in November or December, but the season does not open up to January. For jhum, paddy seed is sown during the spring time; in many cases the plant sprouts in May, followed in July by weeding; the grain ripens in July but sometimes the ripening season may go as late as September

Millets does not take a long stage to ripen. The seed usually is sown in January and the grain ripens in April or May; the harvest soon follows. In the case of maize, the seed is sown during March and harvested in July. In many places millets is grown simultaneously with maize. Kachu is grown during March but takes quite long to ripen for it is harvested towards the close of the year.

As regards pulse and dals, they are planted in May, harvest comes in December, soya beans are also grown during the same season with pulses while *til* is grown in April and harvested in November. In Chakhesang area, ginger is grown in March but harvested in January. Sugar-cane in the highlands is planted in May but harvest occurs as late as December or January. Potato is grown in March, the harvest following after a month only. Sowing of job's tears might have been done from January to April, according to altitudes, while harvests take place till November. In the northern parts, climbing lentils are grown in March but stinking lentils are grown up to July.

Owing to the variations in altitude from place to place and other topographical factors, a uniform crop calender is not feasible. Cropping and other traditional approaches also differ from place to place; what applies to Kohima town and its nearest confines cannot be said to fit in with the remoter Zeliangroung and Kuki area; similarly differences are marked between the Hills and plains.

Moreover some vegetable crops such as brinjal, potato, tomato, mustard and perhaps others which cannot all be named here have two seasons of growth in one year, conforming to the summer and winter. Cropping of the former may not be essentially the same as that of the latter. Perhaps topographical and geological factors which account for the diverse economic conditions in the country enhances the cultural diversity amongst the people although it rests upon the common structure.

Mustards both leaf and seeds are grown in October or November, the harvest following very quickly. Brinjals do not take a long stage to ripen, the seeds being sown in March, while the harvest follows just after a couple of months. Tomato is grown in October but fruiting is caused till February. Most of the beans are sown in March, yielding the harvest in May. Gourds are generally grown in February while harvesting is done in July.

Types of soil:—Soils vary according to altitudes On mountain tops, soil generally exhibits organic matter with heavy texture varying from high to medium. Lower slopes and base have scanty undergrowth and a shallow texture, while on the foothills, soils are generally poor and light and contain low organic matter varying from loam to sandy.

Generally soils are acidic in proportion of p. 20 5 to K. 20. Alluvial soils are comparatively more fertile although such formations are diminutive being confined to the banks of Barak and Dhansiri.

The sediments mainly comprise boulders, pebbles and sandstones. Rock formations, crags and cliffs, are perhaps intensive to the north in combination with foliated clay. Eastwardly, the structure exhibits slaty elements in a large proportion. On the whole, the vegetation, crop and vegetable elements which abound show that the soil is not so poor Moreover the pattern of Angami terraced cultivation that has survived through the ages shows that the soils are not too poor.

Improved agricultural patterns

Many important and concrete measures have been taken since the inception of the Interim Government to apply innovations into the existing agricultural

patterns and standards. It has been rightly pointed out that the existing terraced cultivation in southern Nagaland is the most developed system in comparison with the other available farming patterns in the Naga hill areas. A sudden transition from jhum to the terraced system is not feasible in the light of the present circumstances as jhuming in Zeliangroung and the greater part of Chakhesang and Rengma tracts, has been the traditional pattern through the long ages, although a modified system of jhum cultivation might have been feasible.

From the agricultural and other block centres, a large number of crop protection chemicals, seeds, fertilisers, agricultural implements, de-husking machines and plough animals have been distributed amongst the rural population into the interior area.[1] These with other measures such as the opening of demonstration centres, disbursement of agricultural grants and loans have helped to evolve new interests, pursuits and ventures among the farming communities The farmers have taken full use of crop protection plants such as amonia gammexane, D.D.T. powder, nicotine sulphate, for controlling rice-bugs, case-worms, rinderpest, citrus and vegetable aphids etc. The Directorate of Agriculture has been laying special emphasis on research, horticultural, pathology, pisciculture and soil survey. Several other efforts are being made to launch food production drive on an intensive scale, owing to an increase of the new townships and headquarters.

In respect of irrigation, little progress has been shown but irrigation planned schemes have been drawn up to provide for construction of irrigation channels.[2]

Watershed management which fixes a catchment and a watershed as a unit of planning has been introduced only about 1966-67.

Arrangements further have been made for opening wet-rice terraced demonstrations in Mokokchung and Tuensang by deputing experts from Kohima to expedite the necessary programmes.

Agricultural farms and Research stations:—The most important agricultural farms of the District are the seed farm at Jharnapani, the horticultural farm at Pfutsero and the Integrated Extension Training Centre at Medziphema.—

(1) *Seed farm:* On experimental measure where seeds in great variety are tried.

[1] The utility of de-husking machines for a wider adoption is yet to be watched

[2] The two foremost irrigation projects hitherto undertaken are located at Zudga (Zubza) and Khupanala inaugurated by the middle of 1969. The first project is scheduled to serve an area of about 300 to 500 acres for which 100 acres have already been covered by terraced cultivation. The next project (Khupanala) near Dimapur will cover an area of 1,000 acres. In taking up the above projects, the Government has been receiving valuable assistance from the local people in respect of labour and materials.

(2) *Horticultural farm:* 10,000 apple plants procured from Kashmir are introduced in 1966-67.

(3) *Integrated extension training centre:* Started on April 1, 1966. The Principal is in charge with six instructors. The centre imparts training to village-level workers. Trainees under instruction number 30 as of 1967-68. The scheme, on experimental basis, covers an area of more than 1,000 acres. Fishery, soil conservation, horticulture and farmings are other side issues.

Pisciculture: Many schemes for fishery have been taken up and facilities have been extended also to the individuals. A seed production farm has recently been introduced in Dimapur.

Livestock:—The principal domesticated animals are cattle, pigs and poultry. The climate is definitely congenial, there being good pasture grounds all over the country, with plenty of grass where cattle can thrive on. Owing to the pasture grounds which abound, the land therefore has bright prospects for the development of dairying industries. The animals although lean and small are quite sturdy and strong.

In the past, cattle, pigs, poultry and dogs were reared in larger numbers but the best in the stock were killed during the village sacrifices and festivals. During Vincent's expedition in 1850, the animals were dear and sold at the high price. Bisons were also kept in many Naga villages but now the trade in them has dwindled. In the plains buffaloes and cart-horses are used for carrying traffic.

Among all the animals, perhaps pigs are attended with more care as special fodders prepared of crops are given them. The Nagas have more of pigs than poultry and cattle. One disadvantage is that special piggery or pigsty is not raised. Generally the cows have no shed but now it is in Rengma and Northern Angami areas that herds of cattle are reared in larger number with *Khutis*, where cattle are shut and sheltered at night. They are cattle dealers. They make profit not only from the sale of cattle but cow-dung as well. The Rengmas are said to have supplied cattle to the Lotha and Sema pastoral communities in the past. In other places, during slack agricultural seasons, cattle are let loose. Elsewhere a porch during the rainy season serves as a cow-shed. It is the traditional way of keeping the mithuns in a semi-wild condition. The animals are sometimes counted as the media of exchange on the occasions when fines are paid and disputes settled. The people do not raise special pens for poultry birds but keep them inside the house. A few Nepalis have started

Khutis near the headquarters and have made income out of the sale of milk. Herds of sheep have been noticed grazing along the grass-lands on the National Highway. Meat markets in certain places have been supplemented with supplies brought from Dimapur and areas nearby.

Veterinary and animal husbandry: Previously Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Units were under the control of the Director of Agriculture. But a separate Veterinary Department was created with a Deputy Director in 1964, who in 1967, was designated Director. There is also a separate District Veterinary Officer. The Department has the following centres—the feed manufacturing centre, the State duck farm, the State poultry farm and the tractor unit all located at Dimapur.[1] In addition there is a State dairy farm at Jharnapani; there are the State piggery and poultry farms at Medziphema (Ghaspani). In Kohima town are located the following centres—the rinderpest eradication (scheme) centre, the poultry upgrading centre, the small-scale dairy farm and the dairy upgrading centre. In addition there are the pig breeding centre Chazouba and the sheep breeding centre at Hainuki. There are veterinary hospitals at Kohima and Dimapur, and dispensaries[2] at Peren and Phek. Kohima is the headquarters of the District Veterinary Officer; dairy, poultry, piggery and sheep upgrading centres are also assigned to the charge of respective Veterinary field assistants or managers. The report of the cases is as follows:—

Kohima	*1966-67*
Number of cases treated . .	1,052
Number of animals castrated . .	29
Number of birds vaccinated .	6,373
Number of animals vaccinated .. .	645

Dimapur	*1966-67*
Number of cases treated .. .	2,277
Number of animals castrated .	152
Number of birds vaccinated . ..	11,012
Number of animals vaccinated . ..	478

At both Peren and Phek, the Veterinary dispensaries were started only in 1964. The dispensary at Phek had taken in one year treatment of 1,331 and vaccination of 14,758 in number of both birds and animals respectively.

[1] Dimapur has now a complete upgrading unit and a food factory for feeding poultry units

[2] A district veterinary officer is in-charge of the hospital while the dispensary is looked after by Veterinary Assistant Surgeon

Sub-Centres are further located at Meluri, Pfutsero and Chazouba. The veterinary centre has poultry and cattle upgrading units.

At Peren during 1966, 1,554 animals were treated and 4,446 birds in number were vaccinated. A number of dogs has also been taken for vaccination against rabic. A poultry husbandry demonstration farm is attached to the dispensary. There is a piggery upgrading centre at Phugue (Sathasuo).

Animal husbandry has been taken up in almost all the upgrading farms.[1] Special fodder plants have been grown and steps have been taken to increase the daily dairying capacity.

Forests:— Forests have a great economic value and form the principal source of revenue. They provide fire-wood, building materials, in addition to barks and leaves, highly priced by the local people during the manufacture of dyes and drugs. The dense forests in Zeliangroung and Chakhesang tracts, still in the virgin state exhibit multifarious species of fauna, which are valued not only for their meat, but also for their hide and skins, tusk, horns, feathers and plumes for decorative purposes. Forests give direct income- agar wood, teak, and rubber have been exploited on local scale for trade purpose which fetch good income.[2]

Forest produce: forest produce are grouped as follows:—

(*a*) timber, charcoal, caoutchouc, catechu, wood-oils, resin, natural varnish, bark, lac, myrobalans, rhinoceros horns,

(*b*) trees and leaves and fruits;

(*c*) plants (not being trees)—*viz.*, creepers, grass, reed and moss;

(*d*) animal wealth, with species such as wild animal, birds, butterflies, insects, and skins, horns and bones.[3] silk, cocoons, wax and honey,

(*e*) Peat, surface soil, rocks and minerals (limestone, laterite, mineral oil and other items of mineral wealth).

During the British administration, management of these forests was done according to the Assam Forest Regulation of 1891 by which the extraction of timber was regulated under terms and conditions of agreements drawn up with the coupe-holders who paid a certain amount of security. Felled trees were measured and marked with Government passing hammers and with serials and allowed to be extracted under cover of transit pass and chalan issued by the forest officials. According to the *Naga Hills Jhumland Regulation*,

[1] Breed comprises red Sindhi bulls, Jersy bulls and Australian type etc

[2] The valuable species are hollock, hollong, cham, mekai, champa, poma, sam, nam, amoora gamari, etc which find great demand in the plywood and railway factories

[3] *Official report of the Interim Body*, September 1962 pp 136

1946, the village forests belonged to the people who had absolute rights for cultivation and other purposes. But the erstwhile Assam forest regulations have been replaced by the Nagaland Forest Act 1968 which entitles Government to carve out forest reserves on the basis of awarding compensations to the holders or authorities who own the forest, after assessing the existence, nature and extent of any rights claimed by them.

At present[1] the District has three Forest Reserves covering total area of 74,880 acres. One proposed reserve on the list covers 1,150 acres. In respect of afforestation, so far 783 acres have been covered till August 1967. The Forest Department was constituted only very recently.

Up to 1957, the whole of Nagaland was one Forest Division of Assam. From 1961 to 1963, forests of Nagaland were in the charge of the Chief Forest Officer. It was on February, 1, 1963 that the Directorate of Forests came into being, under which arrangement, the District has been assigned to charge of the Divisional Forest Officer with headquarters at Dimapur.

The District has 32½ miles of forest roads. There is a botanical park of the Department at Chumukedima where different species of plants are preserved and experimented. There is a seasoning cum pressure plant of the Kohima Division at Dimapur. *Vanamahotsava* is observed annually during the first week of July at the headquarters where lively speeches and exhibitions are made on the dangers of deforestation arising out of jhuming practices and other improper large-scale destruction of forests. At present there is no forest training institution. Trainees in forestry are deputed outside the state.

In Nagaland forests are graded into three classes—private forest which belong to the village people while protected and reserved, the other two categories, are placed in the charge of the Government.

[1] Itangki, (2) Diphu and (3) Rangapahar, all situated on western-zone as of 1967.

APPENDIX

Acres under forests in 1964-65

Reserved	81,280 acres
Protected	1,28,000 acres

Outturn of timber, fuel and minor Forest produce, 1964-65

Timber	1,70,448 cft
Fuel	2,38,400 cft
Minor produce	1,01,624 (value in Rupees)

Report of veterinary work done in 1912-13
By the Civil Veterinary Assistant Surgeon

Number of animals treated

1. At headquarters—543
2. On tours—943
3. Outbreaks attended—16
4. Inoculations performed—498
5. Villages visited—141
6. Days on tour—149

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIES

1. **Introductory:** Agriculture forms the basic occupation of the population. According to the Census of 1961, 52,297 out of 61,212 total workers of the rural population are engaged in it, but a bulk of the urban population take up small-scale farmings sporadically with other trades, practices and professions.

Other age-old cottage industries which play vital role in the village economy and which deserve emphasis are (*i*) weaving and dyeing, (*ii*) work in cane, (*iii*) work in wood, (*iv*) blacksmithy, (*v*) pottery and (*vi*) excavation of salt.

I. *Weaving and dyeing:* Weaving specimens from the District comprise a wide range and number which display themselves as pieces of the precious art-treasures showing in respect of designing and processing, an accomplishment of a great measure. The distinctive costumes and apparels comprise wrappers and shawls, waist-clothes and bodice, girdles (for carrying babies), scarfs, skirts, aprons and lungis resplendent with skilful colour combination in their own fashion and style. In the weaving practices and processing, tribe-to-tribe variations are noted as occur the divergencies in respect of their dress. Weaving is still the major undertaking as the Nagas of the villages still rely for a great portion of their daily dress upon their own weaving works, particularly women-folk, but in rural places, the dress materials have further been supplemented by mill-made fabrics. The Naga shawls and bags with different textures are highly valued, and have found great demand outside the State irrespective of their high cost price due to the laborious processing and difficulties caused by the dearth of yarn.

The best Naga shawls having different textures are woven of yarn. The shawls on the entire length or borders are striped, each tribe having their own model of geometrical designs, as part of their embroidery. Stripes in all cases are coloured differently from the main background of the cloth.

Weaving is entirely confined to the women-folk who, besides shouldering the domestic and cultivation works, weave their apparels, the traditions of weaving being handed from mother to daughter.

In respect of ginning, the Angamis use a spindle for ginning cotton while

Semas have a spindle raised with a flat stone whorl. Cotton, jute and mottle-fibres are woven into cloths. But yarns, for the purpose of superior ures, are not locally procurable, a good deal being purchased from outside. Angami loom is a simple loin loom analogous to Ao, Lotha and Sema type ough petty variations are noted as regards the Angami way of warping the setting of loom.[1]

Weaving has also been modernised in the hands of the professional weavers produce the modern designs of shawls, skirts, bags, neckties, table-clothes, covers, curtains, and hand-bags which have had a great deal of demand de the State.

They have several techniques of dyeing Dyes are prepared from indigo, vated specially in their home-stead gardens, but also from tubers, sappers, es and plants. At present chemical dyes have supplemented those procured lly.[2] In dyeing process, the common system is boiling the yarn or cloth air meant for dyeing which gives lasting colouring but variations in the ess occur from place to place. Even the goat's hair or human hair dyed or black or any other colour is used for decorating their weapons or lendent parts of dress.

Sericulture is not popular in Naga Hills as amongst the Bodo plains tribals eir nearest environs. Initial steps towards introducing sericulture was the ing of an eri seed farm at Ghaspani recently.

II. *Work in cane:* Cane being profuse is largely utilised for works in craft. uresque cane crafts comprising bowls, mugs and containers with multi- ured engravings on them are made by all the tribes. Other varieties such llets as part of ornamentation have elaborately worked out design. Cane nets and hat frames are many. Among the Nagas a cane rain-proof is also made. Mats woven of cane strings with fine texture have decorative e.

Baskets are in wide range and number with different shapes and sizes, l for different purposes—as containers for crops and other household ds, and as packages for carrying luggages and merchandise. The *japa*, a kage with lid, hexagonal in form is popularly used all over the District for elling. There are other kinds of baskets bearing symbolic expression and ing numerous engravings. Cane ornaments such as head-bands, bangles,

[1] *Census of India*, 1961 *Handicrafts of Nagaland* p 19

[2] *Census of India*, 1961, *Handicrafts of Nagaland* p. 19-20. Among the Angamis, blue colour is obtained the leaves of *strobilathes Flaccidifolious Zopru of genus indigofera*, locally grown Red colour is pre- l from the root of a creeper, the *Isenyuu* and yellow is made from the wood of a plant which is called ·.

leg-guards etc. constitute another model of workmanship. A typical haversack is a cane-frame, sewn over it by a thick cloth and with the decorations of shells and beads.

III. *Work in wood:* Timber has multifarious use. Tree trunks serve as poles, pillars, batterns and cross-beams for house construction. A trough used for threshing paddy is a type of a hallowed trunk. The most exquisite manufactures out of wood are dishes (with legs), saucers, platters, cups and other utensils which exhibit in their own fashion a splendid workmanship. A wooden cup may have cane-hanks. A mortar, a sort of a big board with three or four holes scooped out, is also made of wood. Smaller mortars have single holes scooped out.

Wood-carving has more artistic than commercial value. It was, through its association with its past, connected with head-hunting, as evidenced in the use of the wood-carved human skulls in imitation of the true heads, used generations ago by head-hunters. In the morung carved animal frames such as mithun, tiger, elephant, monkey and horn-bill lie scattered about. Wood-carving associated with the performance of certain rituals appears to have been undertaken corporately.

By wood-carving, dolls, statues, tobacco pipes and other designs are worked, some of them coloured. Spear-shafts are also of wood.

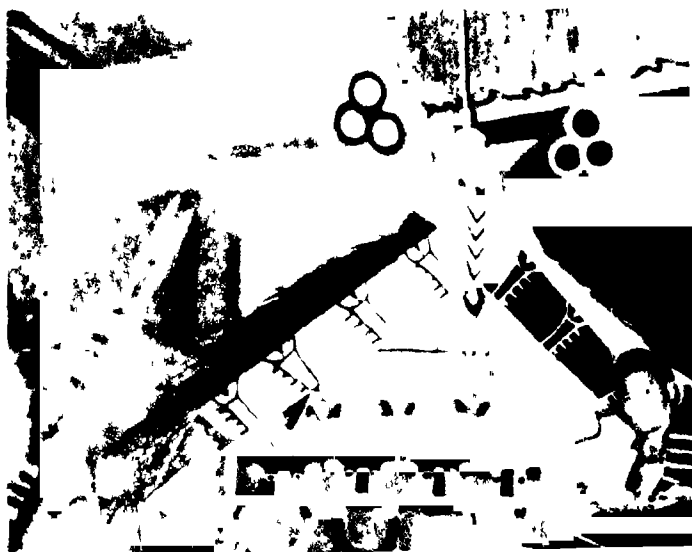
By-wood-carving, they make different figures and furnitures for decorating their houses.

IV. *Smithery:* Local forges where certain agricultural tools and ceremonial weapons are made, still exist but their number is dwindling.

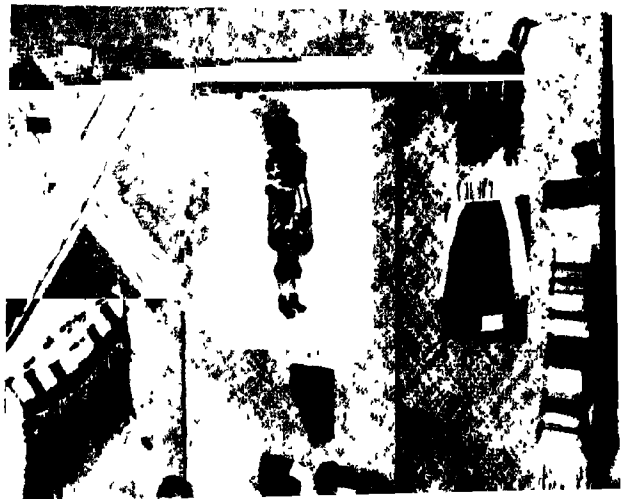
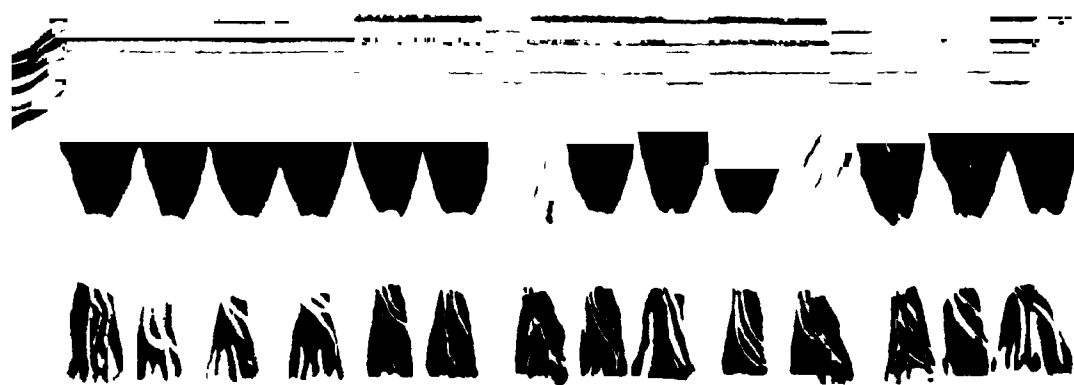
In these forges the manufacture of spears-heads, daos, scrappers, knives and others, on primitive lines is still going on. The equipment until late years was improvise. Production rates at certain places may have greatly been reduced owing to the availability of the cheaper agricultural tools and implements which are procured from outside. In the forges, the rusted or second-hand iron implements after being melted, are forged into numerous tools and implements. But in the interior places, demand of the indigenous implements has not yet dwindled because the bulk of the village farmers are still acquainted with their age-old tools. It may be worth-noting that at present village blacksmiths have made use of springs and other mechanical devices in place of the old piston bellows for supply of air to the forges. Iron hammers at places have also replaced stone which for so long blacksmiths were using.

In the olden days Rengmas were probably the only Naga tribe who smelted iron by boiling and heating the stone which contained iron

Leggings

Engraving and Furniture

Rengma Industries

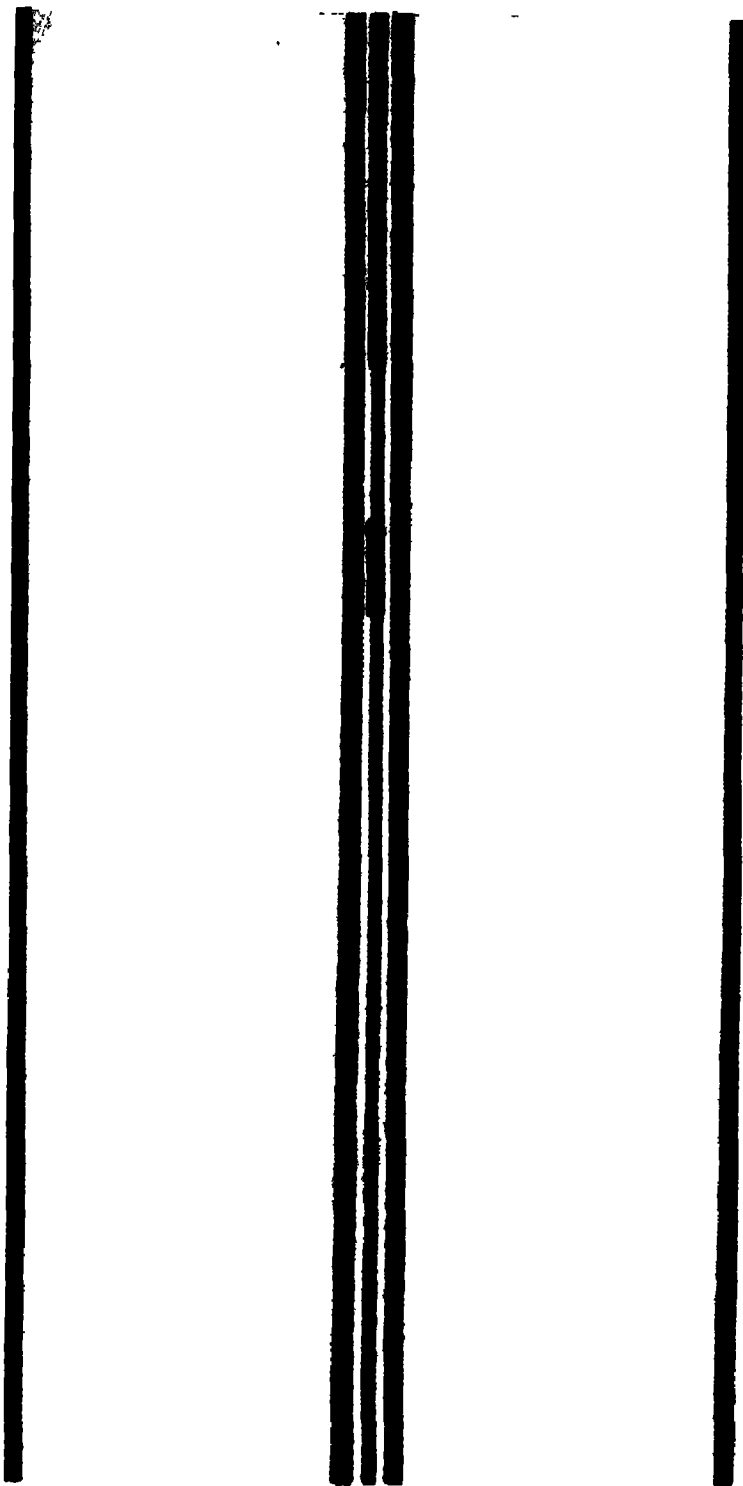
A Rengma Lady Preparing Ornamental Beads

A Set of Costumes and Ornaments

Cottage Industries Emporium, Kohima

A Lady at the Loom

Angami Shawl (Lohe)

(By Courtesy of Naga Institute of Culture)

(By Courtesy of Naga Institute of Culture)

Zeliang shawl

Naga carving model

Naga wooden dish and spoon

Carvings on the front view of a rich man's house of Angami Naga

(By Courtesy of Naga Institute of Culture)

sand. The Rengmas are considered to be among the best Naga blacksmiths. Iron pyrites are abundant on the shales commonly noticed in Lotha Rengma hills.

In the process of smelting, an ore in a form of granite or gneiss moulded cylindraceous was first boiled on a fire as that was a first step to shake sands, clay and other ingredients off a pure ore. This over, the ore was taken and lumped by beating it with a stone hammer. The entire process was repeated for a second time. The ore was boiled in a separate wooden vessel. The ore had to be washed and its process had to be repeated to remove the sticky stone or sand ingredients or dust. By washing and heating it again during the final stage, they completed a process of extracting a solid metal. A sort of pig iron thus procured was split into two lumps but to complete the process, it was necessary that they were joined again by means of a red earth, devised in such manner that it gave a necessary plastering and cohesion. It was by means of this first-rate iron that the best implements, I was told at Tseminyu by Mr Shulwo Rengma in December 1967, were manufactured, discernible from those of a second grade or rusted material.

In the system of melting of iron, the Rengmas and perhaps some of the neighbours use a broken earthen pot by which they keep the ingredients of iron hot by boiling on a fire when they have pasted into a solid mass till the metal becomes red-hot. It is then taken off, laid on a furnace and moulded into a flake by a certain process of hammering. A stone hammer is used in the process of lumping, but at the final stage, a big-sized hammer becomes more necessary. Thus by repeating the process of lumping, the metal becomes ready before it is turned out into different weapons, implements and furniture.

V. *Pottery:* Which is still practised in many villages, carried on primitive lines with neither proper mechanical handling nor the use of wheels. The best types of clay oftenly are those extracted from the river banks.

According to one report, "the clay in Meluri area in Kohima district is soft and smooth and it is hoped, it can be used in all types of ceramics"[1]. Pots in different sizes and shapes are made. A model of the Laruri clay is said to be best for ware moulding and designing. Some of the hand-made wares which serve as containers of beers are hanked and have lids. The potters prefer red and black colour for their pots.

VI. *Manufacture of Salt:* From the brine springs, salt is locally excavated and manufactured, by boiling the water on the fire over the iron cauldrons or *chungas* (booboo vessels) specially designed, the lid having been tightly compressed until the water becomes evaporated and turned out into solid salt. Such

[1] *Nagaland Handicrafts and Industries.*

enterprises are carried in Jalukie, Peletkie and Mbaupungwa or Mbangpanlwa (Zeliangroung area), and Akhegwo, Yisi, Purr, Molen and Ozeho villages (Chakhesang area). The salt thus manufactured locally sells well in the market as the local Nagas prefer it to the imported salt and sometimes make up its deficiency by importing the salt locally produced from the brines of Mao area in their neighbourhood; the local salt being highly valued, sells Rs 1·50 per kilogram while up-till the first world war it fetched the market value of annas 8 per seer. In the Zeliangroung area it goes up even higher. The salt contains sodium sulphate in great proportion which is admitted to be helpful for digestion.

Miscellaneous:—Other minor enterprises comprise ivory, horn and bone work practised on small domestic scale. They make beads of seeds, and from ivory, they make out designs such as bracelets and wristlets and other ornamental decorations are moulded. Bone is forged into several ornamental designs. Dyed hair is used for decorating spears and sabres and necklaces. Several ornaments are moulded from the beads purchased from the plains[1].

Collection of honey from the bee-swarmed orchids is another subsidiary occupation. the local honey fetching good price, although the task is arduous and risky especially at the precipitous terrain. Drying of fish caught from Tizu and its tributaries is practised in and around Meluri area.

Organised industries:—About the beginning of this century, mention is made of the Messrs Moole Shuttle and Company, a cotton ginning factory, the first organised industry started at Merapani (Lotha area). The industry was properly equipped; a pressing machine was installed for extracting oil from the cotton seeds; and cotton flakes prepared at the workshop fetched good prices in the market. The factory consumed a bulk of the locally grown cotton in the Lotha-Rengma area[2]. In 1912 the industry was shifted to Furkating but it continued to consume the locally grown Naga cotton.

Another private organised industry was a saw-mill set up at Rangapahar during the pre-Independence. It was running well, fetching considerable price for the sawn timber, Rs. 155.00 being sold for a ton. Other main manufactures were packing cases turned out of a soft wood (*Bhelu*)[3]. During the war, the mill provided timber to the army establishments in Dimapur[4]. This mill caters to the demands of the nearby plains in both Assam and Nagaland.

[1] In brief the earrings vary from bones to beads decorated with dyed hairs while necklaces comprise bones mixed with shells and beads in multifarious colours. Brass wristlets for women and armlets in pure ivory about 3" to 4" wide are highly valued.

[2] *Annual Administrative Report of the . . .Naga Hills District* for the year 1911-12.

[3] A P F *Hamilton, Tour Inspection* in the *Tribal Areas of Assam*, November 1947, Section III.

[4] The mill is called Bawri timber industries.

Present Schemes[1]

(1) *Sugar-mill:* Concrete proposals have also been made for the setting up of a sugar mill in the District. The site located at Dimapur would command daily crushing capacity of 1,200 M. tonnes, its installation would cost about Rs. 2.5 crores. Over 1,000 acres of land have been cleared for sugar-cane plantation to feed the proposed mill. For so long the sugar-cane from Dimapur until the establishment of the plant was supplied to another sugar mill at Baruabamugaon, 70 miles away. The sugar-cane plantation with the establishment of the plant would be extended to 6,000 acres, the cultivation being assigned to the agricultural co-operatives. The total expenditure for the location of sugar plant is expected to cover 5.21 lakhs, for its installation.

The Nagaland Government have at the same time constituted the Nagaland Industrial Development Corporation, an autonomous body which have deposited a sum of Rs. 1.5 lakhs with the sugar scheme. But it would be by the next year that the Corporation would become formally recognised. The Khandsari Sugar Plant has been entrusted with certain technical works connected with the setting up of the mill. A specific amount of Rs. 3 94 lakhs has been provided to meet expenditure of the Khandsari plant. The State Khandsari Sugar Mill inaugurated on February 20, 1968 would be in a position to consume the locally grown crop.

A project Engineer Division was further proposed to undertake the survey work and expedite location schemes, constructions and road-buildings.

(2) *Seasoning-cum-Pressure Treatment:* Moreover a Seasoning-*cum*-Pressure Treatment Plant has recently been started at Dimapur by the Forest Department which is employing at present (1967) 22 persons. The total cost for its installation involved the sum of 6 lakhs of Rupees during the financial year, 1964 65, but the total estimated cost capital comes to Rs. 9.09 lakhs.

(3) *Sericulture.* It is only recently that Sericulture has solicited Government attention. There is only one sericulture farm with head quarters at Dhansiripar and six demonstration units located[2]. The local people have received eri seeds from the farm. At present it is equipped with 23 machines. The farm

[1] In the wake of disturbances which flared up from 1954-55 till the inauguration of Nagaland, it had not been possible to take up any other scheme for industrial planning.

[2] *Location of the Units:*

		Number of cocoons since inception till 1967
(*i*) Duragajan which has yielded	.	.. 1[illegible],000,00
(*ii*) Kuchiabill	,, .	. 25,000,00
(*iii*) Bamun pukhuri	,,	. 4,76,000
(*iv*) Dairy farm	,,	. 17,500
(*v*) Purana bazar	,,	.. 12,400
(*vi*) Padum pukhuri	,, ..	13,500

has distributed endi spinning machines to the weavers at the cost rates. An appreciable stock of cocoons is further available with the demonstration units. There is in addition another sericulture demonstration garden at Peren.

Other small-scale industries

To quote *The Industries Revised Annual Plan for 1967-68*, 'the economy of Nagaland is virtually based on agriculture. At present there is no major or medium sized industry. Weaving and some other handicrafts are practised mostly for domestic and local consumption rather than for any other commercial purpose. Some small-scale industries like shoe-making, tailoring, furniture making, printing press, saw mills, rice mills etc. have sprung up recently, but their contributions to the economic growth of the state is negligible'. The list appended below shows a growth of the small-scale and privately organised industries located at Dimapur, a flourishing business centre[1].

Business establishments

Establishment	*Total*	*No. of employees*
Rice Mills	4	(with total number of 17 employees)
Flour Mills	4	(with total number of 17 employees)
Motor workshops	16	(with total number of 100 employees)
Furniture workshops and stalls[2] ..	16	(each employing 7 or 8 persons)
Book binding	1	
Commercial Institute	1	
Bakeries[3]	2	

In addition, there are the following saw-mills:

(1) Bawri Timber Industries

(2) Nagaland Timber Industries

(3) Frontier Timber Industries.

[1] They apply up to September 1967.

[2] *Manufactures from the workshops as in 1967*

Table (Secretariat)	Chair (armed wooden)
Table (ordinary size)	Chair (armless wooden)
Table (full size)	Sofa set
Chair (Cushion)	Almirah

[3] One Bakery has also been established at Pfutsero on private basis Another has been started at Ghaspani

Similar enterprises have sprung at Kohima. Shops have increased many of which are run by local persons. Other establishments such as book-stalls, rubber and stamp, printing, commercial institutes, photo studios, saloons, country liquor shops, bakeries, rice mills, restaurants, dry cleaning and dyeing, motor-workshop and one cinema hall have grown up. The following list shows important business establishments which existed till 1965 at Kohima:—

Class of factory at Kohima	*Number of factories*
Printing press	1
Repair of motor vehicles	1
Furniture and fixtures	6
Rice and flour mills	1

Cottage industries training

(1) *Polytechnic School-cum-Production:* The first technical school was the Fuller Technical School located at Kohima, which provided training in carpentry and blacksmithy (included in the practical part of the curriculum) started about 1908.[1] In 1910 it had an enrolment of 14 boy trainees. The School provided special scholarships to the meritorious pupils under instruction.

The workshop's receipts of the school in 1912-13 came to over Rs. 1,177-11-2. The school was one of the most successful of similar institutions in Assam having capable and experienced instructors. In the words of the Chief Commissioner who visited it in 1913, 'I was very much pleased with my visit to the Fuller Technical School of Kohima......and I was glad that nearly all the boys turned out from here follow the professions which they have been taught in that school'. After fifty years or so, this school became converted to the Junior Technical School but recently it was again elevated to the Polytechnical School.

In 1962-63 it had 5 teachers with 45 trainees under instructions.

The Polytechnic School is so designed that it provides instructions in:

(1) Blacksmithy (2) Carpentry
(3) Paper making and (4) Technical lines.

At present the school has hostel accommodation for 60 seats, the borders are stipend-holders, worth Rs. 50/- per mensem each, the annual sale-proceeds are Rs. 400/- approximately. The main manufactures are furniture (both house-hold and office) *viz.*, almirahs, tables, easy chairs, folding tables, tea-poys etc.

[1] The theoretical subjects taught in the school were arithmetic, English drawing and mensuration

until 1967, 280 passed-out trainees have come out. A scheme has further been drawn to produce electricians, fitters and welders from the school.

(See also appendix)

(2) *Ruth's Naga Emporium:* An important arts and crafts centre is the Ruth's Naga Emporium, named after (Mrs) Ruth, the founder, a private organisation, started in Dimapur in 1962 which provides training in weaving. There are 17 girl trainees at present who receive stipend of Rs. 20/- each per mensem. It is residential. The main manufactures are the following:—

(1) Variety bag (small)
(2) Variety bag (big)
(3) Necktie
(4) Striped necktie
(5) Lady's coat
(6) Lady's coat (with scarf)
(7) Jacket (for men)
(8) Scarf (for men)
(9) Tea cosyset
(10) Dining table mat
(11) Original patterns of Naga shawls
(12) Modern pattern of Naga shawls
(13) Baby scarf
(14) Picture frame (Naga style)

A great number of the manufactures have been furnished to emporiums at Calcutta, New Delhi, Bombay, Simla, Gauhati and Shillong and good sales have been made locally.

(3) *Training-cum-Production Centre:* Another similar residential institution is the Government Training-*cum*-Production Centre also situated in Dimapur at Donkan Busti, started only on September 5, 1966. It has an enrolment of 11 trainees up-till September 1967 but it would accommodate next year, 20 trainees, Rs. 35/- per mensem being granted to each trainee. The course of training is one year. The particulars of manufactures are given below:—

(1) Bed cover
(2) Bed sheet
(3) Table cloth
(4) Towel
(5) Shirting
(6) Shawl
(7) Coating
(8) Pillow cover
(9) Angami scarf

The Centre has 10 fly-shuttles.

A scheme is being taken up that the centre would provide demonstration for the use of power-looms during the current plan period, the indent having been made by the Government of India for the supply of 1,000 power-looms to the entire State[1]. It is expected that the demonstration would create interest for thread procurement on the part of the public.

[1] The Government has moreover vitalised certain efforts to display Naga arts, crafts and other manufactures in the All-India exhibitions.

Besides providing training to the residential trainees, the Centre has been distributing threads, yarns and tools to the local weavers.

(4) *South Zeliangroung Weaving Institute:* There is in addition at Peren the South ZeliangroungWeaving Institute-*cum*-Production Co-operative Society with 24 members which during this initial stage has two handlooms with one sweater-knitting machine. The institute produces Zeliang costumes. There is one instructor who imparts training to 8 girl trainees, stipend holders. The stipend rates vary according to the category of training. The Institute is residential.

(5) *Chakhesang Welfare Centres:* In the Phek Sub-Division, also exist two Women Welfare Centres which impart training for tailoring, namely the Women Tailoring-*cum*-Production Centre at Pfutsero and Women Welfare Centre at Phek. At the Pfutsero Centre, girls receive training in weaving and spinning, and undertake production of trousers, Naga ties, sweaters, bags and other specimens, the Centre being equipped with 15 machines. The Phek centre, recently instituted, has not taken up the issue intensively, having only one foot machine and 2 spinning machines, and has been started only recently. Its main objective is to organise spinning in the area.

Industrial Co-operatives

The co-operatives have a vital role in industrial planning for which the following deserve mention:—

(1) Lulho weaving co-operative society in Kohima.
(2) Industrial and multipurpose co-operative society in Kohima.
(3) Terhase hand-made paper co-operative society in Kohima.
(4) Sede carpentry co-operative society in Kohima.
(5) Terhuja ivory co-operative society in Kohima.
(6) Naga dress weavers' co-operative society in Kohima.
(7) Naga Industrial co-operative society in Dimapur.

In addition over 17 multi-purpose co-operatives exist in the District

Other Schemes

To lay further incentives it has been decided to continue the following measures for the next development phase—(1967-69).

(*a*) Extension of assistance in carpentry, blacksmithy and sheet-metal smithy
(*b*) Setting up of more blacksmithy units to cater to the production of agricultural tools.
(*c*) Expansion of assistance in the following enterprises—pottery, bee-keeping, gur-making, soap and candle making, hand pounding etc.

(*d*) Making of moulded plastic articles.
(*e*) Extension of assistance to the salt makers in Meluri area and steps to boost up production rates.

Emporium:—There is only one Cottage Industries Emporium situated in the Capital which stocks with exquisite costumes, manufactures and handicrafts of Nagaland, the Emporium in addition has transacted sales of handloom and handicrafts products in considerable numbers with other States' museums.

Another landmark in the meseulogical development was the proposed construction of Nagaland Industrial Emporium at New Delhi, assigned to the Central Public Works Department, New Delhi, which was to involve an expenditure of almost one and half lakhs of Rupees. It will be completed by 1969-70. The State Emporium is expected to boost up the sales of handloom products and handicrafts of Nagaland, in lines with other state Government schemes in setting up respective Industries' Emporiums at Delhi. One Marketing Officer would be appointed to look after the sale and transaction of the handloom and handicrafts, manufactures and other products from the State through the Emporium and also to arrange imports of raw materials and standard tools for Nagaland.[1]

Exhibition, Demonstration and Mela

To accelerate production rates, it has been decided to display exhibitions in the State. A library of 16 m.m. technical trade films for display has been proposed to encourage the local weavers, artisans and manufacturers. Rs. 15,527/- were spent during 1966-67 for preliminary works while an amount of Rs. 10,000/- has been kept under the scheme for 1967-68.[2]

During a recent exhibition, one local craftsman was given a *National Award* for craft in spear making.

Training

Another scheme towards providing training facilities to the local boys and girls in various vocational trades and crafts within and outside the state would be expedited with an object in view towards accelerating the growth of the large and medium-sized industries. Training facilities would be extended in the manufacture of sugar, paper-pulp, etc. A provision of Rs. 8,000/- has been made for the year 1967-68 under the scheme.[3]

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[1] *Industries, Revised plan for* 1967-68, p. 13
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid

Industrial loans

To encourage the local entrepreneurs further in any projects for starting factories, the scheme for advancing Industrial Loans is going to be continued. Out of an outlay of Rs. 11 lakhs for the plan period, an expenditure of Rs. 8.05 lakhs was incurred during the year 1966-67 and a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs is earmarked for the year 1967-68.

Industrial Estate

Survey for establishing the sites for the Industrial Estate at Dimapur as well as its layout has already been expedited and the scheme for building the small Industries Service Institute Extension Centre has been taken up. It is expected that by 1968-69, 'C' type of industrial sheds would be ready for use. By the end of the current plan period another 15 Industrial sheds would be completed. The estimated cost of the scheme is Rs. 16 lakhs, out of which an expenditure of Rs. 9 lakhs is expected to be incurred during the year 1967-68 under the scheme.

Power[1]:—The chart regarding the expeditious completion of electric scheme is furnished below:—

Sl No	Name of location of towns already electrified	Location of power house with K W provision	
(1)	(2)	(3)	
1.	Kohima	580 KW	Within Town
2.	Wokha	75 KW	-do-
3.	Pfutsero	55 KW	-do-
4.	Chazouba	55 KW	-do-
5.	Tseminyu	51 KW	-do-
6.	Dimapur	490 KW	-do-
7.	Birema (Peren)	39 KW	-do-

But greater improvement has been recent the installation of the 66 KVA Station at Dimapur on the agreement basis with the Assam Electricity Board for supply of power from other hydro-projects in Assam The Sub-Station at Dimapur when completed with a capacity of over 10,000 KVA, would supply electric power to 24 towns.

[1] No Kel/7705 dated 13 12.67.

Schemes for electrification of Zubza nullah, Themokedima and Phek are being taken up, schemes at Dimapur and Zubza when expanded would provide power to the offing industrial units It is important to note that prior to the inception of the Interim Government privately organised power houses existed in the District. In 1963, Electrical was bifurcated from P W D and was created into a separate Department. It is to be noted that Wokha, the Sub-division headquarters of Lothas north of Tseminyu falls within technical control of a Chief Engineer, Kohima

APPENDIX I

A new planned scheme is being expedited for the expansion of Polytechnic Institute and the introduction of new Syllabi with effect from August, 1969 on the following patterns:

Course	Duration	Accommodation Capacity
(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) Blacksmith	1 year	16
(2) Carpentry	1 year	10
(3) Motor Mechanic	1 year	32
(4) Fitter	2 years	16
(5) Electrician	2 years	16
(6) Wireman	2 years	16
(7) Welder	1 year	12
(8) Turner	2 years	12
(9) Draughtsman (civil)	2 years	16
(10) Stenography	1 year	16
(11) Surveyor	2 years	16
(12) Cutting and tailoring	1 year	16

The Institute is under Education Department

APPENDIX II

Sale of electricity by class of consumers (Townwise), 1965-66

Class of consumers	No. of consumers	Consumption	No. of consumers	Consumption
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1 Domestic heat and small power	7	1139	.	--
2 Domestic light and fan (the latter applied to the plains-belt only	671	190116	445	178130
3. Commercial heat and small power	—	—	—	—
4. Commmercial light and fan	271	269805	114	165805
5. Industrial powers at low voltage	2	36410	7	89209
6 Industrial power at high voltage	—	—	—	--
7 Public lighting	—	2875	—	27604
8. Electric traction	—	—	--	—
9. Irrigation	—	--	—	--
10 Public waterworks and sewage pumping	—	—	2	44284
Total	951	503945	568	505032

CHAPTER VI

BANKING, TRADE AND COMMERCE

PRIOR to the British advent, barter played a dominant role in the local economy. The system was primitive and prevailed among the neighbouring tribes. Its anomaly was that necessity and not value determined the price of a thing. Merchandise comprising woven goods, yarns, live-stock, food-grains, agricultural implements, house-hold furniture, wares were interchanged in a community. There were no market centres. The trade was conducted by pedlars and vendors.

The tribes practised also a primitive system of currency. The medium of exchange among the Angami Nagas was a conch-shell equivalent to one cow. They also reckoned value in terms of hoes. Among the Rengmas, one cow was worth fifty baskets of rice. They used also spear-heads and daos for currency. Southern tribes used stones for weighing precious ornaments, one stone being equivalent to a seer of the old Indian system of weights and measures. The practice however was not common, being applied only to a few dealers who had trade relations with Manipur and Dimapur.

Barter is still confined towards the remote villages which have no regular means of communication with the administrative centres. It is still conducted side by side with currency in the interior areas situated far from the main streams of traffic and commerce. Society therefore ranges from barter to an industrialised stage; the country-folk are still prone to practice barter for meeting some of their wants when an emergency has to be tackled with. Regular trade in terms of currency and the present metric standards of weights and measures have replaced barter totally in urban and advanced areas.

There was once an inter-district trade across the hills from Manipur to Sibsagar. Different stories have been preserved of Nagas carrying on trade in the *hats* on Dhansiri where Rengmas sold cotton and iron implements in large quantities. Hill products of other Nagas such as honey, wax, ivory, were sold in the plains. Stories still told are of the traders from Zeliangroung and Angami highlands who attended weekly markets held in the nearby plains. During the middle of the last century the Nagas went to trade as far as Nowgong but trade had flourished regularly with nearby markets such as Jorhat, Golaghat and Dimapur. The trade again of the southern portion was transacted with

Manipur; the trade with the Kabui Nagas and other tribes in the present Manipur State was held by Mao Nagas, the immediate neighbours of Angamis to the South of Kohima.

Small Naga agricultural colonies had sprung in the foothills bordering on Sibsagar. Intermediary tribes such as Lotha and Ao conducted trade with southern Nagaland both through the low-lying area along the foothills and the mountain terrain. Salt trade from the plains was the monopoly of Lotha traders who supplied to Rengmas in the hills who were not in possession of brines. Angami traders were supplied salt by the Zeliang, Meluri and Mao groups from their own brines. But according to traditions, many Angami villages had brines which in course of time had become replenished.

One of the principal imports of Naga Hills was iron and iron implements but iron-smelting was a one tribe's monopoly. During the pre-British advent iron trade from Rengma hills had considerably diminished. Cotton which the Rengmas had was left but little for trade. Yarn was also considerably purchased from outside. Beads which Nagas much liked for ornamentation were also brought from outside, mainly Manipur and Assam. Much of the cattle in man's keeping over the highlands were meant for sacrifices during the festivals. Therefore meat markets had occasionally to be supplemented with live-stock purchased in the plains. Dried fish which Meluris alone was renowned for the drying of the fishes locally caught was scarce among the neighbouring tribes and therefore much of it was being imported.

At one time before the District was constituted in 1866, Naga Hills were blockaded by the British authorities Such measures were imposed in order to compel the Nagas to come to terms. It was a failure as many Naga traders in disguise got through the impenetrable jungles to the plain markets. Some traders from North Cachar, Zeliangroung and Angami areas who came openly without permits were confined to Asaloo in the North Cachar Hills.

Trade was also carried on among the Zeliangroungs and the Kacharis at Maibang.

A British traveller left on record a price index for the following commodities at the middle of the last century:

1 cow sold for Rs. 6 to 10

1 pig sold for Rs. 3

1 dog sold for 4 annas

1 chicken sold for 2 annas

1 dhan of paddy sold for Re. 1/-

1 shield sold for 4 annas to Re. 1/-

1 cloth varying from 4 annas to Re. 1/-
1 spear varying from 8 annas to Rs. 3/-
2 to 4 seers of salt for Re. 1/-.

Naga barter table was as follows:

1 male slave equivalent to		1 cow and 3 conch-shells
1 female ,, ,,	,,	3 cows and 3 conch-shells
1 cow equivalent to		10 conch shells
1 pig equivalent to		2 conch shells
1 fowl equivalent to		1 packet of salt.

The settlement of the administration helped to foster trade and commerce. In Government reports, we find a reference to the Zeliang and Angami traders who visited near and distant markets. They went as far as East Bengal and Calcutta to dispose of their merchandise and bring home beads and yarns.

But trade, still rudimentary in organisation, had not yet grown in proportion with the pace of the administrative expansion. Moreover, keen interest had not been taken to encourage trade and commerce on an elaborate scale, the entire trade being handled by a small number of merchants. There was a conspicuous absence of markets and whole-sale dealers. The newly constructed road (Golaghat-Dimapur) may have been of a little help towards developing trade in the foot hills. The newly opened bridle paths across hills were irregular means of communications, at times disrupted by cracks resulting from gigantic landslides. In other respects, economic transition was caused by the new avenues of employment at the tea estates, road constructions and building works. During the disturbances caused in the hills when the final Anglo-Angami war broke out, the following were the trade conditions:

In 1876-77, 2,722 maunds of salt were bought by Zeliang Nagas worth Rs. 27,220, the selling price being Rs. 10 per maund. Rs. 5,000 were spent for the purchase of cloths and Rs. 1,800 were spent on brass utensils and wires. Rs. 3,200 were collected on the sale of the bees wax and Rs. 1,174 on that of ivory by a Naga mercantile class.

In 1878-79 the Angami merchants numbering about 1,200 went for trade to Golaghat and as far as Gauhati. They sold ivory, wax and clothes worth Rs. 3,000.

It was the Japanese invasion which brought another landmark in the modern Naga History so that new patterns of trade and industry came into

being. With the invasion by the great Japanese power, was gone an age-long splendid isolation of the Naga Hills territory. The whole Sub-Continent became hectic, anticipating the fate of Kohima. Troops from all over India, from Great Britain and from the Commonwealth countries came in an unbelievable speed to rescue Kohima from the grip of the Japanese. With the troops came the supplies, machines and the contemporary weapons. Dimapur became the military station and store; local resources were mobilised. The Naga Hills, hitherto an excluded tract all on sudden captured the headlines of the world dailies. Kohima became crowded with the multitude of new faces and persons of different complexions. New tastes, new fashions, new styles and new behaviour patterns quickly spread among the indigenous population. Naga dolls, toys, spears, daos, costumes easily found exit through the soldiers to the different parts of the world. Demand increased of local building materials and manufactures.

Mechanical ideas quickly spread: stories told are that the local blacksmiths all put to use the condemned parts of machinery when they were forged at the smithies into new traditional type of weapons and implements, many of which were purchased by soldiers after the war. Moreover, the blacksmiths invented a new device for running the fire into their forges by substituting their piston bellows with a chain which is said to be more economical and less time-consuming.

Suppliers who amassed fortune during the war became noted businessmen. Even labourers got new ideas by coming into contact with the technological operations. After the war electric power projects and piped water supply were started on the private basis by the local men. Communications increased to cover hitherto non-controlled area in Tuensang and Tirap.

Much more progress has been noted after the State was formed. Business has become more mobilised and trade has grown into bigger proportions. New administrative centres have grown into trade and supply stations. These factors coupled with the multifarious developmental projects in agricultural, industrial, co-operative, power project, transport, building and other spheres have set about more patterns of economic activities: ventures on the part of local people, in starting industrial units, stores and shops, cinema halls, workshops, mills, petrol pumps are worthy of notice to cope with the newly-emerging demands and situations. All the industrial activities are concentrated at Dimapur. But Kohima is not less important as a supply centre to the Angami area while Pfutsero and Peren have grown into two supply centres for Chakhesang and Zeliangroung areas respectively. Dimapur comes first to limelight owing to

its railway access with the rest of India. The following are the business patterns which have grown in Dimapur up to 1967:—

Business concerns	Numbers
1. (i) Large shops ..	21
(ii) Retailed shops .	532
Stock and stores	
2. Godowns	21
3. Weekly market	1
. .	(The weekly market is held on Wednesday)
4. Daily market . ..	1
5. Cinema Halls	2
. .	(Latika and Eros)
6. Book-stalls .	3
7. Hair-cut saloons	8
8. Hotels and restaurants .	9
9. Brass and wire workshops .	25
10. Licenced wine agencies ..	4
11. Travelling agencies	12
12. Trade Service associations ..	2
13. Commercial institute .	1

The main exports transacted from Dimapur are cotton, jute, timber. forest produce, chillies, til and mustard seeds. Dimapur is one of the important Naga Vegetable markets.

Imports are much more varied which comprise groceries and food-stuffs, drugs and medicines, textile goods, utensils, furniture and miscellaneous articles and items. In addition, technological, electrical, engineering and mechanical works are concentrated at Dimapur.

Kohima, a motor station which has communications with southern Nagaland' and Mokokchung, comes next. Through it, trade, traffic and transport, stock and supplies in increasing volumes, pass to the Central and Southern Nagaland as well as to Manipur. Therefore it has become another centre. One of the main handicaps is the unhospitable roads and frequent landslides which cause breakdowns of communications during the monsoon. Rice mills, cinematography, furniture, firms and shopping centres have sprung up; in addition, at Kohima[1] there are many other Government institutional centres.

[1] *Important business agencies at Kohima*—Assam travels, Air transport corporation. Assam construction, B O C , Electro-dynamics, Biscuit factories, Stores and supplies, Kohima Printing Press, radio mart, handloom houses, book stalls, Ruby Cinema hall, furniture and fixtures, hotels and restaurants (such as Southern Restaurant, Students' Restaurant, Greenland Restaurant), Co-operative Canteens, and other business firms and contract works There is in addition a daily small station bazar.

Yet with the present developmental projects came technology and other applied sciences to the hitherto remote and impenetrable parts of their land. But still the picture ranges from barter to industrialised. Orientalism, modernism, neo-modernism and primitivism are exhibited and combined together.

Another development is the growth of the retailed markets conducted mainly by the CPO's, which inception dates back to 1957-58 when an Interim Government was constituted. Food-stuffs were distributed at the fixed Government rates through the CPO's. About 1962 in the Headquarters only rice was indented and distributed but in Chakhesang, other kinds of food-stuffs comprising onion, flower, atta, salt, dals, sugar, mustard oil, ghee and tea leaves were catered as domestic trade did not thrive there properly.

A monthly allotment for the District in 1964 stood as follows:—

(1)	Rice	300 m.t.
(2)	Atta	200 m.t.
(3)	Moida	50 m.t.
(4)	Dals	150 m.t.
(5)	Sugar	75 m.t.
(6)	Mustard Oil	210 m.t.
(7)	Kerosene Oil	4,20,600 litres.

Dealers were permit holders per permit allotment and were allowed 3 to 6 per cent profit each.

In March 1965 the distribution of rice was as follows:[1]

(1)	Phek (Pfutsero)	57,562 Kg's
(2)	Meluri	29,738 Kg's
(3)	Chazouba	11,487 Kg's
(4)	Chizami	50,730 Kg's
(5)	Phongkhuri	3,810 Kg's

In Kohima and Dimapur, registered Ration Shops have replaced the CPOs. Co-operative stores and canteens in compliance with Government regulations are selling commodities and goods at company rates. Price restrictions are imposed on the other categories of food-stuffs and goods. But open markets are not retailed.

Banking Institutions:—A branch of the State Bank was first set up at Dimapur. Up to 1965, it was the only Banking Institution in the State. In Kohima another branch of the State Bank was established in 1965-66. It settles Government payment and looks after the cash business of the local treasury.

Other Co-operative banks are also being constituted which will extend credit facilities to the rural communities.

[1] Most of the supplies were catered to the newly-rising administrative centres and security bases.

Chapter VII

COMMUNICATIONS

Introductory:—A brief emphasis may be laid on the importance and service of the age-old bridle paths and the trans-district tracks which connect the District with Cachar, Sibsagar, Manipur and the eastern regions before we proceed to review the growth of the modern communications. Those old-time tracks hitherto were in the use by groups of tribal immigrants as well as the traders, warriors and ambassadors. Across the Saramatri range of Tuensang bordering on the east and along the course of Barak river in the south-west, the tracks lose themselves in the rugged steeps of the difficult mountain terrain, sometimes almost impassable.[1]

Road development:—The first landmark constituted in the existing means of communications in the last century was the cutting of a road (Golaghat-Chumukedima) running a distance of 67 miles, the greater part of the road being situated in the plains, the road was fit at the foothills for wheel traffic. When this line opened, part of the Government transport was brought by boats along the Dhansiri (which navigation opened from April to September) to Dimapur, while elephants were engaged to remove the transport again from Dimapur to the station; wheel traffic also plied from Dimapur to Chumukedima. Before 1880 the construction of more bridle paths was undertaken which connected Nowgong, Manipur and North Cachar with the District, while an access road which linked the Golaghat plains with the first sub-divisional headquarters was being constructed. Later on, the headquarters at Mokokchung (sub-division) was also connected with Wokha. Another road was provided afterwards with an outpost located north-wardly of the sub-divisional headquarters. But only Golaghat-Chumukedima road was fair-weather, the rest were mere tracks. In course of time 3 bridle paths were opened for Tuensang. By 1909 the district had a total of 621 miles (bridle paths).

One of the greatest obstructions to the resumption of road surveys and constructions since the inception of the Naga Hills District was the occurrence of frequent land-slides which held up transport, the problems which are still formidable irrespective of equipments and tools which the age has invented.

[1] Extraterritorial rights were recognised among the different village authorities on normal occasions only when peace was concluded amongst them. But during the village feuds, they were withheld.

The cart-road which has become a double-traffic national highway was reported as early as 1909 to have been impassable as soon as the rains set in. This state of things still continues. The occurrence of land-slides near Kohima in 1966 and Ghaspani in 1967 are instances, in consequence of which traffic was blocked at a stretch of weeks necessitating transhipment. It took time also to clear the slide.

Bridging on rivers was also difficult as many bridges were washed away by the swollen rivers.

The last world war gave more impetus, there were military undertakings for the construction of additional motor roads and tracks which were of great benefit to the public as 200 miles of motorable roads were added to the existing ones; the roads led to the expansion of administration in the hitherto un-administered area.[1]

But enormous progress has resulted out of the formation of Nagaland when all the potential resources were tapped under the third Five Year Plan, the results which speak for themselves. The roads have greatly assisted in boosting up production rates, enhancing trade and traffic and the speedy expedition of the developmental projects.

The following outline the progress made in road construction—

Before 1957,[2] *i.e.*, prior to the constitution of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, the position of the communications in Kohima District was as follows—

Categories	**Total mileage**
1. National Highway	64
2. Surfaced roads	4
3 Unsurfaced jeepable	200
4. Porter tracks	171

But only two roads were fair weather. A great difference is noted in April 1966 when the surfaced roads were prolonged by 20 miles while to the unsurfaced sector, 470 miles were added, and 80 miles being newly widened over porter tracks and mule paths and the roads were converted to the all-weather lines of communication. Under the scheme taken up at present, the District has 1 national highway, 2 state highways and 15 local roads.

[1] A military road during the war at the Dimapur plains-belt is said to have commanded more width (being four-fold traffic) to cater to the war emergencies. Numerous road accesses in the State have developed now into the regular roads.

[2] Pioneer companies did an enormous work of road-building before the establishment of Interim Government

Roads are divided into National Highway, State Highway and Local Roads—

(1) National Highway:—the only road classed as national highway traverses from Dimapur to Khuzama, from where it prolongs itself to Imphal. It is double traffic.

State Highways

(1) Kohima-Phek :—part of the road as much far as Pfutsero from Kohima is considered to be one of the best lines in the State.

(2) Kohima-Mokokchung:—which runs *via* Wokha.

Local roads

In addition there is a number of local roads[1] and porter tracks. Short distance roads have also been built by Community Project Blocks and the Forest Department.

The task in cutting roads is in-surmountable against the precipitous heights, cliffs and crags and the vast mountain terrain especially in Chakhesang and Zeliang areas, roads taking largely hazardous and zig-zag course.

A greater portion of roadbuilding is assigned at present in the Chakhesang areas (Phek Sub-Division) to the Border Road Organisation. But elsewhere the PWD. maintains them.

Railways:—the District has railway connection through Dimapur on the North-East Frontier railway line with Assam. The railway line covers only 5 miles of the Dimapur mouza. Recently station buildings at Dimapur Station including parcel room, ticket collectors' and counters' room, waiting room and restaurant have been rebuilt. There are a railway police office, co-operative, workshop, school and a small colony for the railway employees. There are the Manipur and the Nagaland State Transport stations at Dimapur which arrange transport and traffic with Imphal and Kohima respectively, Dimapur is also known as *Manipur road* owing to the motor road link with Imphal. There are other transport arrangements with Assam.

An enormous increase of traffic with both the State and Manipur has been another important development. Dimapur has become a great supply centre

[1] Location of local roads—(*i*) Kohima-Pulama, (*ii*) Branch road from Nchuguard to Henima, (*iii*) Branch roads connecting Kohima-Wokha State highway with Kangazumi, Syntemvu, Phesinyu, Tesophenyu, Lazumi and Pughobuto, (*iv*) Roads from Chakhabama on the Kohima-Phek highway to Dihoma and further to Kilami. From the latter the road runs to Mokokchung District with a branch to Tuensang. Another road, the Chakhabama Mao road runs southwardly to link itself with Kohima-Manipur National highway below Visweina, (*v*) There is an access Pfutsero-Peessachudama road. (*vi*) Near Phek another road goes northwardly to Satakaa in Mokokchung where it meets Chakabama-Kilama road. (*vii*) Another local road connects Phek and Meluri with two diversions

added to the impetus laid down by the last war, while Government undertakings have grown out side by side with the commercial and industrial firms.

Undoubtedly there has been an increase in the number of privately owned vehicles and public carriers to cater for movement of transport and traffic on the highways and the local roads.[1] In the plains, rickshaws and cycles are used in large number for short distance transport while horse-carts help to supplement the movement of some small-scale local traffic. Hundreds of privately owned vehicles laden with the merchandise ply daily on the double-traffic national highway. More than 20 private vehicles ply daily on Kohima-Pfutsero.

There is also an increase in number of privately owned vehicles on Kohima-Wokha, Dimapur-Paren and other principal local roads which have helped to enchance the road-side traffic considerably. But many Naga travellers in interior areas are still used to the innumerable paths and tracks for the purpose of carrying small-scale local traffic and petty merchandise.

Transport service:—In 1962, the datas were collected as to the possibility, income and expenditure on the feasibility of introducing daily transport services in the State. The proposal was put up for the sanction of 43 buses which involved an estimated cost of 20 lakhs of rupees. On the Republic day 1964, Nagaland State Transport was inaugurated, planned schemes being drawn up to introduce transport services on the following roads:—

1. Kohima-Dimapur, taken then over.
2. Kohima-Wokha. opened in 1966.
3. Kohima-Mao (in Manipur)
4. Kohima-Pfutsero, Starting first up to Chakhabama, then to Pfutsero in 1967.
5. Pfutsero-Chizami, 1968.
6. Dimapur-Jorhat, 1968

Town bus services in 1964-65 for some time were provided in Dimapur and Kohima towns and daily taxi services were also introduced on Kohima-Imphal road. Further the goods services were also arranged daily on the national and state highways. But town bus services became suspended very soon But in 1967-68 bus services were reopened in both Kohima and Dimapur towns.[2]

Postal Service:—At this century's beginning, postal services were instituted in five administrative centres in the district while, before 1910. telegraphic services were being opened in the two headquarters. After 53 years or so, the District had only 11 post offices and 199 letter boxes in 1963 but in 1965 they

[1] There was a total of 158 public carriers and 144 motor cars privately owned in 1963-64

[2] There is a Central Workshop of the Transport Department at Dimapur.

had increased to 12 and 20 respectively. In 1964-65, a scheme was drawn up to provide 12 hanging letter boxes inside Kohima until they were replaced by the pillar letter boxes. In 1965 automatic telephone exchanges were instituted at Kohima and Dimapur by replacing the old and out of-date Centre Battery Manual System.

The number of subscribers is appended below—

Kohima

Year	*Government*	*Private*
1964 ..	 170	20
1965 ..	.. . 238	30

Dimapur in 1965 had a total of 105 local exchanges.

Travel and tourist facilities:—As early as 1907 Inspection Bungalows existed almost all over the administrative centres and outposts in the district and sub-division with a total of 30 Inspection Bungalows in addition to 5 Rest Houses. A few staging Bungalows also existed.[1]

An old circuit house before 1965 was converted into the M.L.A. hostel, while the construction of a permanent M.L.A. hostel was going on. In 1966-67 there was a circuit house at Kohima and also existed 10 officers' hostels. Recently the Inspection Bungalow, Kohima has been converted into the Dak Bungalow.[2] At Dimapur there is also a well-furnished Circuit house. The Rest-House at Peren is Dak Bungalow-*cum*-Circuit house. In the Phek sub-division, the best Rest-House is located at Pfutsero.[3]

Other Nagaland houses outside the State are located at Calcutta and Delhi and one is under construction at Shillong.

Building works:—the P.W.D. has been expediting schemes for water-supply, construction of schools, hospitals, Assam Rifles quarters, residential quarters and other institutional buildings. The department on large scale is coping with the tempo of works in buildings, repairs and establishments, looking after the provisions of furniture, tools and plants.[4] New buildings have grown out not only in Kohima but in the other administrative centres

[1] Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers*, Vol. IX, Chap. V

[2] During the disturbances, many IBs were used by the security forces.

[3] Inspection Bungalows with improvise furniture are fairly distributed in other centres

[4] The indent of supplies for the Superintending Engineer has increased daily. For instance, in 1960-61 and 1961-62, the Superintending Engineer was allotted 770 M T of sheets while for the third quarter of 1962 only, he was provided 1,201 M T. of cement—*Official report—Abstract of Proceedings—Interim Body*—Sixth Session—1962, pp. 122-24.

APPENDIX

The following chart shows the total number of vehicles in the district. It covers up-till September 1968.[1]

(1)	Car	440
(2)	Jeep	189
(3)	Land rover	3
(4)	Motor Cycle/Scooter	246
(5)	Power Wagon 1½-2 tons	31
(6)	Chevrolet 3-5 tons	151
(7)	T.M.B. 6-9 tons	139
(8)	Trailer	10
(9)	Tractor	4

The number of State Government vehicles up-till September 1968 is as follows:-

(1) NLG—distributed departmental-wise—1,188.
(2) NLP—pertains to the State Police and Assam Rifles—678.
(3) NLX—pertaining to the Nagaland State Transport—134

To maintain administration properly over the whole State coupled with the paramount need to expediting developmental planned schemes, it has been essential on the part of the Government to be in possession of a good number of vehicles as that is a surest way of facing and overcoming the several topographical complications which the land presents and as a faster mode of transport is a great need in this new State so as to enable the administration to function effectively

[1] Data conveyed in letter No TC-52/68/899 dated 19th April 1969, from the Transport commissioner

Chapter VIII

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

In the preceding sections, emphasis has been laid on agriculture and other patterns of economic enterprises. Agriculture occupies 80% of the population while other enterprises on domestic and local scale form the subsidiary occupations. Specific measures on intensive scale have been adopted to provide innovations to the local farming system, arts and crafts and other enterprises, and revitalise others which are dwindling. Those measures, it is hoped, would remove certain traditional handicaps which are associated with them. With the implementation of the multifarious developmental projects, the new avenues of employment both technical and non-technical have also evolved[1].

In 1901, 520 different heads were mentioned relating to the people's occupation. Agriculture formed 93% but every cultivator combined it with some other subsidiary occupations. The number of persons returned under each of the eight main orders, and the proportion that they formed of the whole, were as follows:—

	Category	Number of Persons	Percentage of total population
	(1)	(2)	(3)
A.	Government	2,388	2 3
B.	Pasture and agriculture ..	.. 96,059	93 8
C.	Personal service .	. 424	0 4
D.	Preparation and supply of materials ..	1,034	1 0
E.	Commerce, Transport and storage . .	. 371	0 4
F.	Professions . ..	. 325	0 3
G.	Unskilled labour not agricultural . .	. 364	0 4
H.	Means of subsistence independent of occupation	.. 1,437	1 4[2]

[1] To do full justice to the theme is very difficult as data is scanty The assessments are made only on basis of census reports prior to 1961

[2] The soldiers and military police men, with their families formed 2 [illegible] of the population, 1[illegible] comprised the invalids, infirmed and aged persons. Trade and wage earning on road-building, tea estates and forest works, formed other subsidiary occupations

The following chart gives proportionate statistics on numbers of persons holding different occupations in 1931:—

(*a*) Earners (Principal occupations)

Total—100 per mile of the total population occupied as earners (principal occupations) and working dependants in:—

Earners (principal occupations)	319
Non-working dependants	416
Working dependants	265
Exploitation of animal and vegetation	552
Exploitation of animal	6
Transport	2
Trade	2
Public forces	4
Public administration	1
Persons living on others' incomes	1
Domestic service	3
Insufficiently described occupations	2

(*b*) Earners (subsidiary occupations)—Number per mile of total population, earners having a subsidiary occupation in:—

Exploitation of animals and vegetation	23
Exploitation of minerals	nil
Industry	5
Transport	1
Trade	1

The upward trend in respect of learned professions may be gathered from the following table which shows the increasing number of literacy in the District (from 1881 to 1931):—

Number of literacy per mile

All ages, 10 and over

Male

1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
43	35	22	24	22	14

Female

1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
6	5	1	2	1	—

Literate in English per 10,000[1]

1931

5	10	10	15	15	20	20 and over		All ages over 5 yrs.	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5	3	14	3	68	11	91	5	64	5

1921 All ages over 5 yrs.		1911 All ages over 5 yrs		1901 All ages over 5 yrs	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
60	6	27	2	32	2

It is important to note that so far 11,306 persons are in Government service in the State until March 31, 1965 (tribe-wise figures not indicated). Source—*Census of Nagaland Employees, Statistical Branch.*

The exact number of literate persons in the District by the census of 1961 was as follows:—

Number of literate persons to 1,000 persons	Number of literate males to 1,000	Number of literate females to 1,000
1	2	3
209	299	108

But post-graduate studies have not shown encouraging result as implied by the following figures:—

(1)	M.B.B.S. . . .	5
(2)	L.M.P.	8
(3)	V.A.S. ..	2
(4)	B. Th. .. .	10
(5)	M. Ph.	1

In that year only 7 were post-graduates, 48 graduates and 41 Theological graduates. Undoubtedly literacy has further been making considerable progress recently owing to an increase in schools and a good number of students have been prosecuting higher studies in arts and sciences, technical and non-technical lines.

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. III, Assam Part I *report, English Literacy by Age, Sex and locality*, p 162

Before 1965 only 34 Angamis, 4 Zeliangs, 2 Sangtams and 1 Rengma were holding gazetted posts with the Government.[1]

We append below the table on the livelihood patterns :—

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE LIVELIHOOD CATEGORIES OF WORKERS, ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

District	Total population	Total workers (Category I to IX)	I As cultivator	II As Agricultural Labourer	III In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Fishing, Hunting and plantations, Orchards and Allied Activities	IV At Household Industry
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Kohima	108,924	61,202	51,296	310	61	19

V In Manufacturing other than Household Industry	VI In construction	VII In Trade and Commerce	VIII In Transport, Storage and communication	IX Other Services	X Non-workers
(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
300	134	840	566	7,676	47,722

STATEMENT SHOWING THE CLASS OF WORKERS OR PERSONS AT WORK AT HOUSEHOLD AND IN NON HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY TRADE, BUSINESS, PROFESSION OR SERVICE[2]

(Census, 1961)

District	At Household Industry			At Non-Household Industry, Trade, Business Profession or service				
	Total	Employee	Others	Total	Employer	Employee	Single Worker	Family worker
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Kohima	19	11	8	9,577	211	8,420	833	113

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS AND NON WORKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS[3]

District	Percentage of workers to total population	Percentage of Non-workers to total population
Kohima	56.19	43.81

[1] *Official report of Nagaland Legislative Assembly, March*, 1965.
[2] No. SCO 3/3/67, dt 16/12/67.
[3] *Ibid*

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION BY SEX AND CLASS OF WORKERS OR PERSONS AT WORK IN NON-HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY - TRADE, BUSINESS, PROFESSION OR SERVICE

(By Census of 1961)

Branch of Industry	Total Urban	Total		Employer		Employee		Single worker		Family worker	
Division and major group of I.S.I.C.		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
All Division	T	9 308	269	202	9	8,265	155	738	95	103	10
	U	4,498	140	157	9	3,771	73	475	57	95	1

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION BY SEX AND DIVISION OF MAJOR GROUPS AND MINOR GROUPS OF PERSONS AT WORK OTHER THAN CULTIVATION

(By Census of 1961)

Branches of Industry	Total					Workers at Household Industry				Workers in non-household industry			
Division, major groups and minor groups of I.S.I.C.		Total		Urban		Total		Urban		Total		Urban	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
All Divisions	9,596	9,327	269	4,517	10	19	--	19	--	9 308	269	4,498	140

Chapter IX

ECONOMIC TRENDS

Introductory

THE fact that Nagaland undergoes economic transitional phases ha lighted itself in the previous chapters. Percentage of literacy in the is 20.9%. Approximately 8/9th of the population live in villages.

That agriculture is principal occupation, is attested by the fact tha of the population is confined to the villages while mixed undetakings con with contract works, supply, and other small-scale business enterpris emerged. Technical and non-technical professions have increased for with the enforcement of many planned schemes which are supposed t benefit at large.[1] Student communities have shown great increase education has made notable expansion. The density per square mile from 13 to 23 according to the grade of fertility. A pressure of the pop to the townships and business centres is an important trend. Forests and in their virgin shapes are still abundant on higher altitudes; to the land is a source of permanent wealth[2] when it is meant to be spared use of the future generations.

Technological patterns:—To quote the *official report of the N Legislative Assembly*, March 1964,[3] "our basic economic problem is p which arises not so much from any iniquitous social system, but mainl technological backwardness of our cultivators and craftsmen which kee productivity very low. Determined efforts are being made to introduce villagers the advantages of using better seeds, fertilizers, and improve cultural implements through sale of these items at subsidized rates a implementation of land reclamation, soil conservation and minor irri

[1] A good number of Non-Naga technical personnel have been in employment with th particularly in those services with which the district has not yet been able to furnish perso amongst the original inhabitants (detailed figures have not yet been available).

[2] Inheritance to landed property is so devised that the land remains under perpetual ow of the family or lineage group even though it has to be divided amongst the successors. Th the land holding is a decisive factor in *jhuming* cultivation as families have to move from place after a plot of land has been affected by the jhum cycle. Land products such as bamb ber, shrub, stone and mineral products are considered to be the most important items of Because so much value is attached to the soil, it has been found sometimes difficult to work o acquisition schemes by the Administration whatever compensation is offered, because peopl that cash value is rather ephemeral.

[3] p. 85

schemes. The facilities that are being provided for education within the State as well as outside also directly help in making the people technologically more advanced. In majority of schools, training in various trades like blacksmithy, carpentry etc. is also imparted." Obviously the present transitional trend has occurred with the coming of Independence but apparently, new economic concepts towards a more concrete planning on up-to-date lines have ushered in since the inception of the State[1].

Price level commodities

One important policy as regards price-level is ennuciated thus—"Government is fully alive to the problem of rising cost of living. Price-level of commodities is, however, largely determined by all-India factors, and the problem of rising prices is also an all-India problem. In this matter, initiative largely rests with the Central Government. The scope for any action by State Governments is restricted mainly to measures for curbs on profiteering, and ensuring that essential commodities like rice, sugar, kerosene, salt, etc. are available to consumers at fair prices. Government keeps constant watch on the supply position of essential commodities and wherever shortages are anticipated immediate remedial action is taken." In line with this, price regulations have been enforced so that food-stuffs available at ration shops, fair price shops, CPOs' and in the general market are disposed of at uniform rates fixed by Government. The policy has been a success as all the markets have followed the government-fixed price regulations with regard to the sale of the prescribed food-stuffs.

Along with the above measures, concrete schemes have been formulated to exempt a great number of goods, groceries and articles from the sales tax, the paramount object in view being the promotion of trade and commerce. The sales tax is levied only on the sales of petroleum and petroleum products including motor spirit and lubricants. Canteen prices are kept at par with company rates[2].

Planning and National Extension Block[3]

The two important factors which play a vital role in causing economic transformation are the growth of the co-operatives and the community projects.

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[1] A bulk of machines, engines, tools and implements, electrical fittings, automobiles is brought from outside. The District has only a few standard workshops and factories.

[2] Recently schemes to impose sales tax on certain selected merchandise have been formulated with a view to securing uniform procedures and to increase Government income

[3] Figures on Community Development Projects and Blocks at the following pages cover till 1967.

Development on lines of National Extension Blocks was resumed in the District as early as 1953-54, the two earliest blocks being the Kohima (Angami) and the Phek (Chakhesang) blocks. Then followed the formation of Zeliang Kuki block at Peren in 1959 and the Rengma-Phugoboto block at Tseminyu in 1960. The programmes are so designed as to meet the basic needs of the local cultivators, special emphasis being laid on cultivation, communication, irrigation, animal husbandry and adult literacy. The execution of such projects not only gives impetus to cultivators to adapt themselves to the changing conditions but has helped further to boost up food production rate by acquainting them with the technical devices. As such, in a great measure, the blocks have been instrumental in imparting training for economic planning and regeneration.

Main Achievements

Chakhesang Phek:—The block was inaugurated in October 1953. It covers an area of 578 sq. miles with the population of 37,370 persons.[1] The main achievements are as follows.-

(*i*) The block has accomplished in building up 13 numbers of roads which link the block headquarters with other sub-centres.

(*ii*) So far, 1,140 acres of land in the block area have been developed for wet-rice terraced cultivation towards innovating the local terrace system.

(*iii*) The block has extended irrigational facilities over a 20 mile area with 80 minor channels.[2]

(*iv*) Up-to-date, 19 villages have been benefited with the water-supply schemes expedited under the block undertakings.

(*v*) Two co-operatives with the Block's co-ordination have been opened, the Phek consumers' co-operative centre being sanctioned Rs. 17,500/- and the Pfutsero tailoring-*cum*-production centre being granted Rs. 7,500/- from Block provisions during their inception.

(*vi*) Material assistance to the cultivators is in the shape of agricultural tools mainly *Kodalis* (hoes) and de-husking machines distributed among the local population on subsidized rates Vegetable seedlings comprising cucumber, mustard, cauliflower, peas, carrot, cabbages and others—have been extended to the local farms. A horticultural farm at Pfutsero has been conducting new fruit plantations, mainly pine-apples and citrus.

[1] Another scheme may soon be taken up to create a new block for Pfutsero separately

[2] In 1966-67 irrigational works incurred an expenditure of Rs. 49,514.00.

(*vii*) For the purpose of upgrading the local breeds, poultry comprising RIR and leghorns have been supplied to the villages and for increasing animal power, a number of buffaloes and pigs have also been distributed among the local villages. Pigs are also supplied for the upgrading purpose.

(*viii*) As regards adult literacy, 28 night schools so far have been opened with 330 pupils on the roll and 29 teachers, 987 males and 280 females, have come out of the adult literacy centres.

(*ix*) In respect of fishery, 4 ponds so far have been constructed at Phek, Pfutsero, Meluri and Chazouba, each having an average size of 5 feet with a total area of 2 acres. A total of 9,000 fingerlings have been introduced.

Position of roads

	Name of road (1)	Length (2)	Village affected (3)
1	Phek Station road . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$ mil.	1 village
2.	Phek-Lamyi road	6 ,,	1 ,,
3.	Pfutsero-Phek *via* Purubama . ..	20 ,,	4 ,,
4.	Pfutsero-Phesachoduma	8 ,,	2 ,,
5.	Chizami Thetchulumi	4 ,,	2 ,,
6.	Phek-Lozaphema .. .	3 ,,	2 ,,
7.	Chazouba-Igonumi .. .	4 ,,	2 ,,
8.	Sathazu-Phogumi (Phogwemi)	4 ,,	2 ,,
9	Cheswezumi-Phesachudoma . ..	10 ,,	3 ,,
10.	Chizami (Jessami)-Techuru (Tekloubama)	5 ,,	2 ,,
11.	Bible-Katsapo (Ketsopomi) . .	3 ,,	1 ,,
12.	Pfutsero-Sakrabama .. .	4 ,,	1 ,,
13.	Phek-Chazouba road . .	20 ,,	7 ,,

Villages with water-provision

(1) Kikruma
(2) New Phek
(3) Lozaphe
(4) Laphori
(5) Chikhozu
(6) Lazami
(7) Runguzumi
(8) Zuktsa
(9) Sakrabama
(10) Sowhemi
(11) Kotisami
(12) Lekroma
(13) Tebephomi
(14) Kulazubawe
(15) Yisi
(16) Phesachudoma
(17) Zhamai
(18) Purubama
(19) Ketsopomi

II. Zeliang-Kuki Peren:—Started on October 2, 1959, it covered a total area of 2,141·40 km with the population of 12,000 persons in 1961.

The block especially has shown substantial progress in respect of animal husbandry. The deep litre system of poultry farming introduced in the block has been a success. The eggs produced from the farm are supplied not only to the station but to occasionally other headquarters. During 1965-66, the dairy farm produced 25 litres of milk daily which was supplied to the block station.

In respect of terrace farming, over 1,425 acres have already been developed, this is another eminent achievement considering the fact that experiments conducted previously for introducing wet-rice cultivation did not give out lasting result on the rugged Zeliang roung country.

Over 191 irrigation channels have been dug which irrigate an area of 114 miles, while 20 water supply schemes have been taken up on alkethen gravity system in addition to 26 wells dug so far, water being canalised from the nearest springs and rills.

3,557 numbers of agricultural tools, 25 husking machines, 193 maunds of fertilisers, 36 numbers of crop protection equipments, 194 maunds of seeds have been distributed on subsidised rates.

There is an upgrading demonstration centre and a horticultural farm.

15 jeepable roads in all have been constructed which link the villages under the block.

Only 4 night schools exist which promote adult literacy with 4 teachers and 150 pupils. There are 2 library halls specially designed to promote reading interest.

Block roads

(*i*) Nchangram village approach road.
(*ii*) Khaibung-Punglwa, Gailimi-Pedi road.
(*iii*) Chalkot-Sailing Lilen road.
(*iv*) Chalkot approach road.
(*v*) Zalukei (Jalukie) approach road. .. Total length 28 miles.

(*i*) Chalkot-Inbung-Bongkolong-Khelma approach road.
(*ii*) Tesen approach road.
(*iii*) Paren village approach road.
(*iv*) Mboupungwa (Mbangpunlwa) village approach road. .. .. Total length 17½ miles.

(i) Peletkie approach road.
(ii) Peren-Puilo.
(iii) Mpai-Kendung road. .. .. Total length 7 miles.

(i) Block Headquarter approach road
(ii) Dhansiri-Fimla approach road.
(iii) Heningkunglwa-Kiyavi approach road .. Total length 4½ miles.

III. Kohima –the details regarding this Block are given below—

(1)	Date of inception of Block	.. 2nd October, 1953
(2)	Number of agricultural tools, implements & mechanical apparatus distributed since inception	.. 2470 Nos. tools & 14 Nos. paddy de-husking machines.
(3)	Number of demonstration gardens ..	.. 1
(4)	Length of roads under the Block	.. 133 miles 6 furlongs.
(5)	Co-operative connected with Block ..	.. 1
(6)	Provision of water-supply, numbers & type	.. RCC Ring well-71 water Tank-116, Reservoirs-40, Tube Well-6, Piped/Supply-6.
(7)	Categories of vegetable and fruit seeds distributed	. Potato, soya-bean, cabbage, mustard khol-knol, lemon, orange, cauliflower.
(8)	Libraries connected with Block ..	.. Financial assistance has been given to 20 nos. reading rooms.
(9)	Literacy centres	. 40 Nos.
(10)	Land Developed	. 2622 acres.
(11)	Manures distributed .. .	. 852 maunds.

Co-operative movement

The growth of the present co-operative movement is to be attributed mostly to the Government initiative for infusing co-operative ideas among the masses, but the response on the part of the people was equally gratifying. Before the

British departure, co-operative societies had grown in the district, but for want of technical guidance and expert advice and the lack of proper understanding as to its principle, the co-operatives failed. After the inception of the Interim Government, proper steps were taken to revitalise the movement with the result that the movement began to take concrete shape in 1960.

During the weekly co-operative festivals, held annually, it has been pointed out that co-operation has been in the Naga blood and that it is not something new to Naga society, its traditions having been handed over from generation to generation. Co-operation although was originally aimed against exploitation, has now grown and expanded into several spheres *viz.*, credit, marketing, processing, consumers', industrial and farming. Yet steps have to be taken further to foster its growth on lines with the genius and traditions of the people.

Co-operatives which function in the District fall into consumers', weaving, industrial, multi-purpose, dairying, service, transport, farming, petrol pump, tailoring, distillery, credit and fishery[1].

The chart below gives the names and categories of the existing co-operatives.

[1] An office of the Principal of Co-operative training Institute at the State level has recently been set up at Ghaspani (Medziphema) which provides instructions and other kinds of training in co-operative works

EXISTING CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN KOHIMA TOWN UP TO DATE*

Sl. No.	Name of Society	Inception	Registration No.	Membership	Capital	Function	Categories	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Naga Hills Co-operative Store Ltd., Kohima	23 4 45	480	—	—	Consumer	—	Due to non-completion of audit the exact position of membership working capital and audit classification etc. of co-operative societies could not be furnished.
2.	Lulho Weaving Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	26 7 54	580	—	—	Weaving	—	
3.	Industrial & Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	31 3 61	NA/06	—	—	Industrial	—	—
4.	Terhase hand-made paper Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	31.8 61	NA/011	—	—	-do-	—	—
5.	Employees Co-operative Canteen-*cum*-stores Ltd., Kohima	10 1 62	NA/013	—	—	Consumer	—	—
6.	Kewhimiad Ho Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd. Kohima	11 9 62	NA/026	—	—	Multipurpose	—	—
7.	Nagaland Sectt Employees Co-operative Canteen-*cum*-Stores Ltd., Kohima	26 11.62	NL/033	—	—	Consumer	—	—
8.	Kewhira Thunudzu Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	23 2 63	NL/039	—	—	Dairy	—	—
9.	Sede Carpentary Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	25 3 63	NL/041	—	—	Industries	—	—
10.	Kebus & Bros. Service Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	1.7 63	NL/044	—	—	Service	—	—
11.	Kohima College Students' Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	9 9 63	NL/051	—	—	Consumer	—	—
12.	Nagaland Police Employees' Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	23 4.64	NL/058	—	—	-do-	—	—

*No CC. 216/67/5145, dt. 13.12.67.

EXISTING CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN KOHIMA TOWN UP TO DATE—*Contd*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13	Dobashi Co-operative Stores Ltd , Kohima	6.8.64	NL/062	—	—	-do-	—	—
14.	L. & L Service Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima Town	8 8.64	NL/063	—	—	Service	—	—
15	The Govt. Employees' Co-operative Canteen-*cum*-Stores Ltd., Kohima	14 12.64	NL/070	—	—	Consumer	—	—
16.	T T. Road Service Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	20 1 65	NL/071	—	—	Service	—	—
17.	Trading & Transport Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	29 5 65	NL/085	—	—	Transport	—	—
18.	Mimi Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	20 9 65	NL/089	—	—	Multipurpose	—	—
19	Zeliangrong Transport Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	13 11 65	NL/090	—	—	Transport	—	—
20.	Naga Zhu Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	7.1.66	NL/097	—	—	Consumer	—	—
21.	Merenpluelu Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	15 11 66	NL/0129	—	—	-do-	—	—
22	Thenyi Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	15 11.66	NL/0131	—	—	M P.C S	—	—
23	Govt. Employees' Consumers-*cum* Pharmaceutical Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	18 11 66	NL/0133	—	—	Consumer	—	—
24.	Naga dress weavers' Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	9 12.66	NL/0137	—	—	Weavers	—	—
25.	Hanuman Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd., Kohima	30 12 66	NL/0143	30	—	Consumer	—	—

26.	Kuromo Farming Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	10 2 67	NL/0153	25	Farming
27.	Seruzou M P C S. Ltd , Kohima	12 9 67	NL/0164		Multipurpose
28.	Terhuja Ivory Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	12 9 67	NL/0181		Industrial
29.	The Petrol Pump Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	8 7 66	NL/0111		Petrol Pump

EXISTING CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN DIMAPUR TOWN

Sl. No	Name of Society	Inception	Registration No.	Function	Categories	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Dimapur Sugarcane Co-operative Farming Society Ltd., Dimapur	5.3 60	NA/01	Farming		
2.	Nagarajan Service Co-operative Society Ltd , Dimapur	5 7 61	NL/043	Service		
3.	Purana Bazar Co-operative Fishery Society Ltd., Dimapur	11.7 63	NL/045	Fishery		
4.	Roungmei Service Co-operative Society Ltd , Dimapur	25 9 64	NL/065	Service		
5.	Nagaland Industrial Co-operative Society Ltd., Dimapur	18 2 65	NL/080	Industrial		
6.	The Dimapur M P.C.S. Ltd , Dimapur	17 9 65	NL/088	Multipurpose		
7	Railway Employers consumers Co-operative Society Ltd., Dimapur	17.12 65	NL/094	Consumer		
8.	Jail staff consumer Co-operative Society Ltd , Dimapur	12 2 66	NL/0102	-do-		
9	Urrah Cinema Co-operative Society Ltd , Dimapur	17 3.66	NL/0108	Cinema		

EXISTING CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN DIMAPUR TOWN—*Contd*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	Nagaland Distillery Co-operative Society Ltd, Dimapur	26 9 66	NL/0118	Distillery		
11.	Tulazhu Farming Co-operative Society Ltd., Dimapur	28 11 66	NL/0136	Farming		
12.	Zehangroung Sugarcane farming Co-operative Society Ltd., Dimapur	30.12 66	NL/0140	-do-		
13	Signal Busti Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd, Dimapur	30 12 66	NL/0144	Multipurpose		
14.	Theyouoma Farming Co-operative Society Ltd, Dimapur	31 12 66	NL/048	Farming		
15.	URBAN M P C S. Ltd, Dimapur	31 3 67	NL/0160	Multipurpose		
16.	Nagaland Stationeries printers and Publishers Co-operative Society Ltd, Dimapur	12 6 67	NL/0165	Industry		
17.	Barak Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd., Dimapur	6 7 67	NL/0167	Multipurpose		
18.	Temaki Sugarcane Co-operative Society Ltd, Dimapur	3 10 67	NL/0185	Farming		
19.	Yarha Zon M P.C S Ltd, Dimapur	2 10 67	NL/186	Multipurpose		
20.	State Co-operative Union, Dimapur	16 10 67	NL/0191	Union		
21.	Gopal Dairy Co-operative Society Ltd., Dimapur	21 3 67	NL/04	Dairy		
22.	Purana Bazar M P C S Ltd Dimapur	24 1.62	NA/014	Multipurpose		

OTHER CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN KOHIMA DISTRICT EXCLUDING, PEREN, PHEK SUB-DIVISION, DIMAPUR TOWN

Sl. No.	Name of Society	Inception	Registration No.	Function	Categories	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Malvan Kuki Co-operative Credit Society Ltd. Ghaspani	8 1 55	27/55	Credit		
2	Chiechama Service Co-operative Society Ltd, Chiechama	2 11 60	MA/02	Service		
3.	Khuzama Potato Farming Co-operative Society, Khuzhama	19 2 62	MA/015	Farming		
4.	Viswema Potato farming Trading Co-operative Society Ltd, Viswama	31.3.62	MA/016	-do-		
5.	Ziojalie Fruit and Vegetable Farming Co-operative Society Ltd, Nerhema	2 6 62	MA/020	-do-		
6	Bak & Maz Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd, Krikuma	12.9 62	MA/027	Multipurpose		
7.	Yapieunomia Service Co-operative, Jakhama	19 9 62	ML/029	Service		
8.	Ketsupfulo Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd, Khezakenuo	6 11 62	MA/031	Multipurpose		
9	Jotsoma Farming Co-operative Society Ltd., Jotsoma	27 11 62	NL/035	Farming		
10.	Rochu Service Co-operative Society, Viswema	16 1 63	NL/036	Service		
11.	Tiry Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd., Keruma	16.1 63	NL/037	Multipurpose		
12.	Kuki Service Co-operative Society Ltd., Ghaspani	21 3 67	NL/040	Service		
13.	Khrietho Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd., Ghaspani	1.7.63	NL/042	Consumer		

OTHER CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN KOHIMA DISTRICT EXCLUDING, PEREN, 1 PHEK SUB-DIVISION, DIMAPUR TOWN—*Contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Jharnapani agricultural Staffs Co-operative Stores Ltd., Jharnapani	17 9 63	NL/047	Consumer		
15.	Mekro Service Co-operative Society Ltd , Viswema	16 10 63	NL/052	Service		
16.	Zubza Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd., Zubza	16 10 63	NL/054	Consumer		
17.	Thavoma Khel Service Co-operative Society Ltd , Khonoma	23 11 63	NL/056	Service		
18.	Chieszama Service Co-operative Society Ltd , Chieszama	7 12 63	NL/057	-do-		
19.	Pneosama village Service Co-operative Society Ltd., Phesema	8 8 64	NL/064	-do-		
20.	Viswema Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd , Viswema	21 10 64	NL/066	Consumer		
21.	Southerns Co-operative Trading Society Ltd , Khuzama	21 10 64	NL/067	-do-		
22	Chiesotsuma Co-operative Farming Society Ltd ,	29.1 65	NL/074	Farming		
23.	Chietheba Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	21 5 65	NL/064	Consumer		
24	Kigwema Potato Farming Co-operative Society Ltd , Kigwema	12 2.65	NL/0101	Farming		
25.	Kuda Multipurpose Society Ltd ,	23 2 66	NL/0106	Multipurpose		
26.	Jakhama Potato Farming Co-operative Society Ltd., Jakhama	15 6 66	NL/0110	Farming		
27.	Vihutsuma Khel Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd , Mezoma	4 10 66	NL/0120	Multipurpose		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	Japfu Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd., Viswema	10 .9 66	NL/0122	-do-		
29.	Phesama Potato Farming & Trading Co-operative Society	10 10 66	NL/0124	Farming		
30.	Horobezie Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd ,	1. 10 66	NL/0125	Multipurpose		
31.	Khuzama Co-operative Society Pottery production cum Training centre Ltd , Khuzama	14 11 66	NL/0127	Industrial		
32.	Ghaspani Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd , Ghaspani	9.12.66	NL/0139	Consumer		
33	Zapru Service Co-operative Society Ltd . Khuzama	30 12 66	NL/0142	Service		
34.	Makhu Khami Consumer Co-operative Society Ltd	31 12 66	NL/0145	Consumer		
35	Kodoekhro Consumer Co-operative Society, Khuzama	31 12 66	NL/0147	-do-		
36	Tholo Sugar Cane Farming Co-operative Society Ltd , Jotsoma	12 1 67	NL/0149	Farming		
37	Techotsieshu Service Co-operative Society Ltd , Khonoma	25 1 67	NL/0151	Service		
38.	Brosis Service Co-operative Ltd , Kohima village	1 3 67	NL/0155	-do-		
39	Pughoboto Consumer Co-operative Ltd , Pughoboto Town	3 3 67	NL/0156	Consumer		
40.	Tenophoma Multipurpose Co-operative Society	23 3 67	NL/0158	Multipurpose		
41	Vierbe Sugarcane Co-operative Society Ltd , Kohima	16 3 67	NL/0163	Farming		

CHAPTER X

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

ACCORDING to the *Act V of 1861*, the administration of the District was vested in the Commissioner of Assam, on whose behalf[1] day to day administration was run by the Deputy Commissioner. It was provided that in exercising his powers, he would be assisted and advised by the village heads and councils. Some of his functions were strictly of political character. At the beginning, the Deputy Commissioner performed manifold duties relating to the supervision of road constructions,[2] enquiry into and settlement of inter-tribal disputes, carrying out of survey operations, conduct of military campaigns in concurrence with the military personnel and the Naga Hills Military Police, suppression of any practices of human sacrifice, building of allegiances of other tribes to the administration and others in addition to the daily transaction of the prescribed official business, his administrative powers being considerably enhanced in the light of the contemporary situations. The Deputy Commissioner put up to the Government proposals for the extension of administration and the formation of the so-called control and non-control areas. Obviously the evolution of British administration in these hills, as elsewhere was based more on the local usage than any other factor. Military personnel were handled the Deputy Commissioner's task during the early decades of British administration but later on, the Deputy Commissioner was enlisted from the civil service, the practice which still continues. The Deputy Commissioner was assisted by the Assistant, preferably the European.

In 1875 a sub-division was instituted with the Sub-Divisional Officer under the Deputy Commissioner. The District continued to be governed under the Act V of 1861 which provided certain administrative and discretionary powers to the Deputy Commissioner.

Village heads under the Deputy Commissioner held their respective administrative jurisdictions and were assigned magisterial and police powers, performing collectorate duties. The body of interpreters (Dobashis) was further appointed to convey Government standing orders. On them devolved further the task in giving interpretation of intricate and controversial customary laws.

[1] From 1872 to 1879, the District became Naga Hills Political Agency under the charge of the Political Agent sometimes graded as Political Officer

[2] Later on the PWD was instituted.

The Dobashis became the valuable guide in the task of enforcing the judicial administration in its right and correct perspectives. Subsequently the Dobashis' court attached to the Deputy Commissioner or Sub-Divisional Officer, whatever case it may have been, was assigned specific powers to decide cases, even of criminal category according to the Naga customary law, subject only to the modification or approval of the D.C. and his legally empowered subordinates.

The Dobashis still play an important role in the assessment and disposal of cases as legally authorised to them.

Apart from the Act of 1861, other administrative measures were enforced comprising the Inner Line regulations, arms, excise, and opium and others. In 1919 the District was governed as the Backward Tract, but in 1935, it was grouped with the Excluded Areas. The Governor was held responsible for the administration. The District under these Acts, was neither represented in the Legislative Council of the Province of Assam although it was mapped as the latter's District nor any measures of a self-Government was being introduced. Representative institutions were worked out till 1961 when an Interim Government was formed.

Vast changes hitherto came in 1957. The territorial jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner was largely reduced when the three Districts were formed. The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area was looked after by the Commissioner who was replaced in 1961 by the Interim Body, the *De-facto* Legislative Assembly of Nagaland and first representative body.[1] The century old Act V of 1861 in certain modified form was still observed.

We have already mentioned the Administrative Sub-divisions in the preceeding chapters[2] while a need has grown out to increase the number of Sub-divisions and Circles to maintain an affective administration against the difficult mountain topography. A new Circle had recently been constituted at Chizami while a Political Assistant has recently been appointed at Chaka bama attached to Phek. In the most important Sub-divisions such as Kohima and Dimapur more hands have been given to cope with an increased tempo of work. It is further important to note that the Zeliangroung Sub-divisional headquarters has been shifted to Jalukie[3] from Peren although at the latter a few offices are still confined.

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[1] Magisterial powers duly specified and graded as First Class, Second Class and Third Class are given to the administrative personnel according to the provisions under the body of the rules and regulations.

[2] See Page [illegible]0.

[3] Jalukie was known as Peren Sub-Division till 1966

The responsibilities of Deputy Commissioner shifted to the newly-evolving secretariat, an Executive organ of the State. With the implementation of multifarious development plans and projects, his powers no longer are confined to the magisterial and collectorate functions, but he has others which are varied and miscellaneous.

In regard to his relations with the block, he exercises the following powers[1]:—

(1) his opinion is vital towards any proposals for the opening of the blocks;
(2) he approves the opening of any block development committee and presides over its sittings;
(3) he is sanctioning authority on certain specified items of expenditure, and matters relating to office maintenance and staffing position.

In addition, he is a chairman of Accommodation Committee which makes allotment for residential quarters of Government personnel. His office deals with the issue or renewal of licenses (trade, arms etc) in addition to the promotion of security. Before the formation of State Transport Committee, he was incharge of the Government vehicles' pool The treasury settles Government payments. His office further arranges and conducts the polls during the general elections.

One important alteration was the reorganisation of the village councils, when in 1961-62, three grades of councils have emerged out of the arrangement—which are the Village, the Range and the Tribal Councils, set up under Article 13 of the Nagaland Regulation which hitherto has reorganised the old Naga Village Panchayat System or Council. By this arrangement, the Village Council has been restituted which consists of the recognised chief or chiefs, gaoburas and the elders elected by the village in accordance with the customary procedure, being responsible for matters relating to the internal administration of the village and its organisation, welfare works and enforcement of all orders, rules and regulations passed by the legally empowered authorities including the maintenance of law and order. In addition, it is authorised to arrest criminals and investigate crimes, report occurrences of accidental deaths and epidemics and watch the possible movement and appearance of tresspassers. The councils have increased judicial powers.[2]

The Range Council which comprises a Range or a circle of villages as its name implies, consists of members elected by the village councils in the propor-

[1] Block Development Officers are graded equal with Extra-Assistant Commissioners who function at Kohima, Phek, Jalukie and Tseminyu, they are technically under the Development Commissioner but general supervision over their work is exercised by the Deputy Commissioner.

[2] *Official Report of the Interim Body for Nagaland* September-October 1961, p 29

tion of one member for every 500 population and part thereof, not below 250. Villages with smaller population (less than 250) grouped with bigger villages would be represented by any other elected member, the provisions having been laid down that their interests are well safeguarded. The council looks to the execution of welfare and development schemes, advises and assists for promoting normalcy and settles inter-village disputes within its jurisdiction. It holds sessions once in three months. Its Chairman is elected.

The Tribal Council consists of elected members in the proportion of one member for every 3,000 population or part thereof, not below 1,500 in the case of the more populated tribes such as the Angami and the Chakhesang. In the case of tribes or areas with smaller population such as the Zeliang-Kuki, Rengma and Dimapur area, one member would represent every 1,000 population or part thereof, but not below 500. The Chairman is elected from amongst its members, paid and graded as a full-time official. The council looks to the implementation of community development work, assisting and advising the Deputy Commissioner in matters relating to the maintenance of law and order, allotment, acquisition and transference of lands and the promotion of local arts and crafts. The councils are further empowered to undertake any other side issues which would appear relevant.

Total number of members elected to the councils in 1962 is given below[1]:—

	Total number of members elected to Village Council	Total number of members elected to Range Council	Total number of members elected to Tribal Council
Kohima District			
(*a*) Chakhesang area	289	25	7
(*b*) Rengma area	76		7
(*c*) Pughoboto area	66	7	—
(*d*) Dimapur area	62	—	6
(*e*) Western Angami area	29	12	2
(*f*) Zeliang area	100	—	12
(*g*) Kuki area	50	—	—
(*h*) Chakhroma area	50	17	1
(*i*) Southern Angami area	50	23	5
(*j*) Northern Angami area	40	26	9
Total	812	110	49[2]

[1] *Official Report of the Interim Body Nagaland*, April-May 1962, p. 4.

[2] The local council at Dimapur is called *Area Council*. The Phek range, Chazouba range and Pfutsero range councils comprise 33, 25 and 64 members respectively at present. The membership in other councils may have varied to cope with new exigencies For instance the Dimapur area council at present consists of 9 members, communitywise 9 : Kachari, 1 Angami, 1 non-Angami Naga, 1 Nepali and 1 Garo. In addition 2 town committee members are included

Chairman and members of the tribal, Dimapur area and Range Councils are paid and entitled daily allowances during the council meetings.

The councils have made note-worthy contributions towards the promotion of self-Government within their respective jurisdictions pertaining to the District which comprises 263 villages according to the census of 1961 with two principal towns. A good deal of training in self-administration has hitherto been imparted since their inception.

In addition Town Committees have been constituted, the Kohima Town Committee is presided over by the Deputy Commissioner.

ORGANISATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Kohima being the seat of Government, all the heads of Departments are therefore located at Kohima. The following Heads of Departments have a vital role in the administration—

(1) The Secretariat with the Chief Secretary to the Government of Nagaland.
(2) Commissioner of Transport.
(3) Commissioner of Taxes.
(4) Development Commissioner.
(5) Director of Education.
(6) Director of Agriculture.
(7) Director of Health Services.
(8) Director of Industries.
(9) Conservator of Forest.
(10) Director of Information and Publicity.
(11) Director of Veterinary and Animal Husbandry.
(12) Director of Supply
(13) Chief Engineer, P. W. D.
(14) The Chief Electoral Officer.
(15) Superintending Engineer, Electricity.
(16) The General Manager, Nagaland State Transport.
(17) Registrar of Co-operative Societies

At the Secretariat level the following departments are mentioned with the nature of business assigned to them—

1. Home department — (*a*) All matter relating to Law and Order, State Police including Police Battalions

1. Home department.

from other States, Fire Service, Security Matters, Jails and Prisons, Disciplinary Cases etc. Warrant of precedence, Passport/ *Visa* Foreigners, Press laws, Copyright, Proscription of Books and Journals, Awards, Honours and Distinctions, Arms and Ammunitions/Explosives, Soldiers, Sailors and Airmens' Board, etc. Eastern Zonal Council Matters and Service Associations etc.

(*b*) Civil Services, Governor's Establishment, Administrative reforms, Service Rules of Executive business and General matters relating to Local-Self Government such as Tribal, Area and Range Councils including Town Committees and Municipalities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Land requisition and acquisition, Rehabilitation, Labour and Employment, Inter-State Migration, Regulation on betting, gambling, etc.

(*c*) Secretariat establishment including ACRS etc. of Officers and Staff, Cash, Printing and Stationery. Publicity and Tourism, Motor Car and House Building Loans and Advances.

(*d*) State Houses outside Nagaland excluding Nagaland House at Calcutta.

2. Finance and Revenue Department.

(*a*) All matters relating to General Finance including Finance Establishment and Administration which covers Pension Cases of State Staff, Interpretation of Finance Rules and Codes etc.

(*b*) Budget and Expenditure control, Treasury. Finance Accounts and Audit classification of budget heads and delegation of Financial powers etc.

2. Finance and Revenue Department.	(*c*) Finance, Revenue and Taxation, Land records and settlement and miscellaneous cases involving all Finance and Revenue matters, Foreign Exchange, Registration and Stamps.
3. Planning, Co-ordination and Community Projects Department.	(*a*) All matters relating to Planning, Statistics, Evaluation and implementation. (*b*) Plan Projects, Co-ordination of all Departmental Plans, Man-power and Town Planning. (*c*) Community Projects and Tribal Welfare including Audit and Accounts of C/D T/D Blocks. (*d*) Water Supply.
4. Law and Parliamentary Affairs Department.	(*a*) All matters relating to Judiciary, Assembly, Parliament, High Court, Appointment of Magistrates and Judges. (*b*) Drafting and revision of Rules, Codes, Acts and Codes, Magisterial and legal matters, Registration and any matter connected with them, Arrangement of Business in Assembly.
5. Public Works and Electrical Department.	(*a*) All matters relating to Buildings, Roads and Bridges including National Highways, Housing Schemes. (*b*) Electricity including Hydel Power Projects.
6. Medical, Public Health & Co-operative Department.	(*a*) All matters relating to Medical, Public Health including Rural, Sanitation, Family Planning, Women and Children case, etc. (*b*) Co-operation. (*c*) Excise.
7. Industry, Commerce and Election Department.	(*a*) On matters concerning Trade and Industry.

7. Industry, Commerce and Election Department.	(*b*) Election. (*c*) Weights and Measures.
8 Agriculture Animal Husbandry, Fisheries and Forest Department.	(*a*) All matters relating to Agriculture and Irrigation, Food Production, Horticulture and Pisciculture. (*b*) All matters relating to Veterinary, Animal Husbandry, Dairy and Poultry Development. (*c*) All matters relating to Forestry, Botany including Forest based Industrial Services, Soil Conservation and Wild Life preservation, Geology and Mining.
9. Education including Cultural Research etc. Department.	(*a*) All matters relating to General and Technical Education. (*b*) All matters relating to Cultural and Anthropological Research etc. Museum Sports Games Libraries etc. (*c*) Social Welfare (*d*) Border affairs.
10 Supply and Transport Department.	(*a*) All matters relating to supply, control and Administration of State House at Calcutta (*b*) Relief.
11 Transport Department.	All matters relating to Transport, Registration of Motor vehicles etc and Workshop organisation and Nagaland State Transport.
12. Tuensang Affairs.	(*a*) All matters relating to Tuensang District Administration including Regional Council etc. (*b*) Co-ordination of matters relating to the District Administration and Development of Tuensang District.

The Chief Secretary carries most of his function in the name of the Governor and enforces statutory orders and Cabinet decision and reports to the

Cabinet on matters relating to law, order, administration, finance and development.

A brief note on the composition of the Directorates is given below:—

Agriculture:—in the charge of a Director. At the Directorate level there are a Deputy Director, Agricultural Chemist, Plant Pathologist, Entomologist, Horticultural Officer, Agricultural Engineer, Soil Survey Officer, Research Assistant and Fruit Technological (or Development) Officer. There is a District Agricultural Officer assisted by a Sub-Divisional Agricultural Officer and a team of technical Officials.

The Extension training centre is headed by a Principal; a team of Instructors, Demonstrators, Village level workers, Mechanic-*cum*-Carpenters, Fishery demonstrators and Overseers is also attached.

Forest:—the Director designated as Chief Conservator is in charge. A Deputy Director is recently designated as Conservator. The District is under the Divisional Forest Officer (now designated as Deputy Conservator) assisted by the Assistant Conservators at the Divisional headquarters.

Animal Husbandry and Veterinary:—the Director is in charge. A team is further constituted of a Deputy Director, a Poultry development Officer a Piggery development Officer, a Dairy development Officer, a Rinderpest Officer and a Disease investigation Officer at the State level. The District is in the charge of a District Veterinary Officer assisted by Veterinary Assistant Surgeons, Farm Managers, Field Assistants and other Officials distributed all over the veterinary centres.

Education:- in the charge of a Director. The Deputy Director, an Assistant Director and a Special Officer are the other principal personnel, text Book Production Branch being supervised by the latter; there are 7 language Officers. There are 4 Deputy Inspectors in Kohima District. In addition there are a Government College, a Hindi Training School, a State Institute of Education, Teachers Training Institute and other Institutions.

Health Services:—in the charge of a Director. A Deputy Director is also attached. A Civil Surgeon is in-charge of a district assisted by Medical Superintendent and a team of hospital staff.[1]

Information and Publicity:—in the charge of the Director, the Deputy Director and Information Officer are attached. A District Publicity Officer is in-charge of the District.

Supply:—bifurcated from the Transport and Supply Commissionership.

[1] Surgical and Clinic side is dealt with at the forthcoming Chapters.

A separate Directorate was located in Jorhat but recently shifted to Dimapur manned by a Director, Deputy Director and Superintendent.

Soil Conservation:—a proposal has been drawn up to create a Separate Directorate of Soil Conservation under a Special officer. Up to July 1968, it was attached to the Director of Forest.

Other Departments

Legislative Secretariat:—in the charge of a Secretary assisted by the Under-Secretary, Legislative Assembly.

Co-operation:—The Department is headed by an ex-officio Registrar, assisted by a Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

Transport:—all matters relating to traffic and license issues, and registration of vehicles are looked after by a Commissioner of Transport. There are Regional Transport Officer and a Motor vehicle Inspector under him.

P.W.D.:—in the charge of the Chief Engineer. The Kohima circle is under the Superintending Engineer with seven Divisions located at Dimapur, Kohima, Phek and Wokha,[1] assigned each to the Executive Engineer's charge. The Sub-Divisions split from a Division are each looked after by an Assistant Engineer or Sub-Divisional Officer, whereas sections, constituted of a Sub-Division are each in the charge of the Overseer. Recently a separate Store Division at Dimapur has been constituted.

Electrical:—in the charge of the Superintending Engineer. There are five Divisions, each under the Executive Engineer namely Electrical Division at Kohima, Design Division at Kohima, Transmission Division at Dimapur, and Micro-Hydel Division at Kohima; another Electrical Division is at Mokokchung.

Under the first Division there are three sub-divisions, two of which are concerned with power supply and one with construction. The Sub-Divisional Officer is attached to the Design Division There are four Sub-Divisions under the third Division concerned with construction along with one Store Sub-Division. The fourth Sub-Division has two research stations each under a Sub-Divisional Officer.

Police:—the Inspector-General is assisted by an Assistant Inspector-General, the Staff Officer to the Inspector-General, the Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Superintendents of Police. At the district level, there are a Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent of Police. The Armed Police

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[1] Kohima Central Division, Kohima North Division, Dimapur Division, Dimapur Store Division, Public Health (Water Supply) Division, Phek Division and Wokha Division

force is looked after by a Commandant, Deputy Commandants and Assistant Commandants. The village guards for Tuensang are placed under the supervision of another small group of Commandants and Assistant Commandants. The Police training school is under the charge of the Principal. The Wireless (Telephone) Department and the Fire Service Organisation are attached to the Inspector-General of Police.

Planning and Coordination:—the Development Commissioner is in overall charge. Other personnel are a Research Officer (Statistics) and a District Statistical Officer.

Taxation:– with an ex-officio Commissioner of Taxes assisted by the Assistant Commissioner. (Superintendents supervise work in the districts).

Town Planning Organisation:—the Town Planner undertakes preparation of town planning schemes; there is also an Assistant Town Planner.

Government Press:—the Superintendent of the Press is in-charge.

Electoral:—the Chief Electoral Officer is assisted by the Assistant Chief Electoral Officer and District Election Officer.

Governor's Secretariat:—in the charge of a Secretary to the Governor.

Advocate General and Government Advocate Officer on Special duty:—engaged in matter relating to appeals and cases with the High Court.

Geological Survey: -newly set up, manned by a Special Officer, Drilling Engineer, Chemist, Geologist and Assistant Geologist.

Excise:—under an Ex-Officio Superintendent of Excise. A regular Superintendent is being proposed with headquarters at Dimapur.

Revenue:—A revenue Officer at the headquarters is assisted by one Sub-Deputy collector.

Weight and Measures:—is hitherto a newly set up establishment under the Assistant controller.

Jails:—for the District are assigned to the Superintendent s trust.

The important Office establishment of the Central Government is the All-India Radio with a Station Director in-charge. It is doing educational propaganda work and attempting to channelise the local talents.

A brief note on the work of the following departments which have not found adequate mention may be necessary.

Law and judicial:—in addition to giving interpretation of the Central and State Acts enforceable in the State, the Department is attempting from scratch to codify the customary laws and usage into the *Nagaland Code.*

Information and Publicity:– a useful work is being done on educational propaganda among the masses of the people by the distribution of audio-

visual sets, production of posters and the display of documentary films relating to various subject-matters. Community receiving sets have also been distributed. A team of language translators has been appointed to cope with the preparation of publicity literatures in different languages.

Research and Cultural Programme:—to cope with research activities on the different topics, the Naga Institute of Culture with the Senior Research Officer in charge has been instituted. District Research officers are also attached to it

Two books entitled 'Arts and Crafts of Nagaland' and 'A brief History of Nagaland' have been published. It also has a museological wing.

Social Welfare:—the Social Welfare Board has been instituted with an object of promoting Social Welfare works amongst children and women. A few selected officials under the scheme are being deputed elsewhere for training in Social Service Administration.

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, NAGA HILLS[1]

1866-1869, First Deputy Commissioner—John Gregory

POLITICAL OFFICERS OR AGENTS, NAGA HILLS 1869-1875

1	J Butler	1869-1875
2.	Mr S H Damant	1875-1879

DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS, NAGA HILLS

1	Mr T Mitchell	1879-1881
2.	Mr R McCabe	1881-1894
3.	Capt A. E Woods ICS	1894-1899
4	Mr W. J. Reid, ICS	1900-1907
5	Mr A W Davis, ICS	1907-1908
6	Lt Col. A E. Woods, ICS	1908-1912
7.	Mr J. E Webster, ICS	1912-1913
8	Mr H C Bernes, ICS	1913-1917
9	Dr. J H. Hutton, CIE, ICS	1917-1935
10	Mr J P. Mills, CIE, ICS	1935-1937
11.	Mr C. R. Pawsey, ME, CSI, CIE, ICS	1937-1947
12	Mr Imdad Ali, IP	1947-1949
13	Mr S J. Duncan, IAS	1949-1952
14.	Mr S C. Kagti, IAS	1952-1953
15.	Mr S. N Barkataki, IAS	1953
16.	Mr S J D Carvalho, IAS	1953 1957

DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS, KOHIMA

1	Mr R Yusuf Ali, IFAS	1957-1958
2.	Mr M Ramunny, IFAS	1958-1960
3.	Mr R N Haldipur, IFAS	1960-1962
4.	Mr Krishnatry, IFAS	1962-1964
5	Mr A. H Scott, IFAS	1964-1965
6	Mr S C Dev, IFAS	1965-1967
7	Mr T Haralu, IFAS	1967-1968

[1] Adaptation from a tablet in the Deputy Commissioner's office room at Kohima. The name of Alexander Porteous, Deputy Commissioner a pioneer of Mokokchung Sub-Division (about 1887-1889) however is not given in the above list.

CHAPTER XI

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Historical Background

(1) House tax

AN important source of Government income during the beginning of the British administration in the District was the house tax; but there were variations in taxation assessments in view of the fact that Angami Nagas were levied Rs. 3/- later on reduced to Rs. 2/- per house, non-Angami Nagas paying Rs. 2/-, while outsiders were levied Rs. 5/- each. The village headmen performed collectorate duties receiving 12½% of the amount collected as commission.

In 1879, house tax, Rs 2/- per annum was paid by the prominent villages comprising Pherima, Razephema, Mezophema, Setitkema and Chesiphema (Angami) and Zutuma (Zeliang). The first assessment was enforced as ealy as between 1874 and 1876, but Chumukedima had started paying house tax in 1867, just after the inception of the District.

In 1884-85, house tax returned was Rs 30,283/- with the following tribes who mainly contributed to it.[1]

Tribe	No of Villages	No of Houses	Rate	Amount	Commission
(1) Angami . ..	60	6,316	2/-	12,632/-	2,526/-
(2) Zeliangroung ..	27	1,182	2/-	2,364/-	473/-
(3) Sema ..	7	1,417	2/-	1,417/-	343/-
(4) Lotha . .	54	6,308	1/-	6 308/-	1,261/-
(5) Rengma ..	3	1,328	1/-	1,328/-	266/-
(6) Kuki[2] . ..	8	515	2/-	1,032/-	206/-

Towards the close of the last century--18 Angami, 5 Chakhesang villages and 2 other villages more were assessed to taxes being newly added to the administration. The amount of the collected house tax at the beginning of the present century is given below:—

For 1906-07, Rs. 70,517/- was collected for the District and Rs 28,509/-

[1] *Foreign Proceedings*, 1885, for the month of January 1885 pp. 5-10 The seven mouzahs situated on the north-west of the district were Rengma which returned Rs 3,432/ and comprised 8 villages with 1,716 houses at the rate of Rs 2/- the commission of Rs 515/- being paid to village tax collectors There was an increase of 8 villages and 850 houses from 1883-84 The amount from the seven mouzahs were credited to the District treasury

[2] The first time that Kukis were assessed to this tax.

for the Sub-division. In 1907-08, an amount returned as house tax was Rs. 80,728/8/0 for the District and Rs. 30,043/8/0 for the Sub-division. In 1909-10, Rs. 71,612/8/0 came out of the District and Rs. 42,880/- of the Sub-divison as house tax.

The fact that Mokokchung had paid Rs. 2/- as house tax was that Government was eligible to place indent for supply of timber and building material through the village chiefs.

(2) **Excise:**—In 1884-85,[1] excise demand was Rs. 5,985/- as compared with Rs. 5,295/- for 1883-84 and Rs. 2,328/- for 1882-83, the increase was due to the shifting of the opium centre from Golaghat to Kohima with opium shops opened there. Details on excise for contemporary period are given below:—

	1882-83	1883-84	1884-85
Opium .. .	1,151/-	1,290/-	2,335/-
Country spirit ..	740/-	2,500/-	2,506/-
Ganja .	84/-	405/-	319/-
Imported wines retail .. .	33/-	1,000/-	725/-
Imported wines wholesale .	320/-	100/-	100/-
	2,328/-	5,295/-	5,985/-

The figures mentioned above were merely licence fees; they did not include duty on opium or ganja, as these drugs were not sold in the District, the drugs mainly ganja and opium being obtained from Gauhati, Nowgong and Golaghat. About 5 mds and 19 srs of opium were sold at Rs 32/- per seer, whilst 45 seers of ganja were sold on which duty was Rs 205/-

Only one opium shop existed in 1903-4 for which 1 maund and 36 seers opium was issued, duties collected on the opium sold being Rs 1,995/- while for the same year, duties on licences for a country spirit shop was Rs 1,142/-. 35 seers of ganja were simultaneously issued, the amount paid for the licence being Rs. 35/- and duty collected on ganja sold being Rs 333/-.

(3) **Land tax:**—"In 1869-70, a few proprietors paid a total land tax of £55-9s-0d, or an average of £5¾.8s each"[2] the tenure being classed as the modest-rayatwari type being heriditary and transferable. Assessment rates were as follows: -

Busti (homestead) and *Pharingati* (dry land) which returned 1s-8d per acre.

[1] *Foreign Proceedings*, January 1885, p. 5-10

[2] Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, Vol II p. 197 The present monetary value can hardly be given a correct equivalent as the monetary conditions have changed very fast, there having been devaluation of both the Rupee and the Pound

Rupit or lowland (moist soil) which yielded 2s-1d per acre. *Pharingati* or dry land returned the same amount as busti. House tax was exempted from those who paid up land tax, the quality of the soil being the major factor which determined the rate assessment. But this tax was very meagre.

It is equally important to note that in 1883-84 and 1884-85, two tracts paid land revenue as follows:—

	1883-84 Rupees	1884-85 Rupees
Borpathor mouzah	976	976
Rengma village	154	340

(4) **Forest royalty:** Another source was the forest revenue which in 1908-9 yielded the amount as follows:—

(*i*) Levies collected from elephant mahals .. Rs 1,900/-
(*ii*) Licence fee of rubber and agar mahals . Rs. 400/-
(*iii*) Licence fee for rubber and agar mahals paid to Jorhat Treasury Rs. 600/-
(*iv*) Timber felled royalty . Rs. 330/8/-

In 1910-11, the total forest revenue was classified as follows —

(*i*) Licence fee for elephant mahal No I (as paid to Jorhat Treasury was Rs. 2,249/-) and royalty paid on elephants captured (as deposited with the Golaghat Treasury amounting to Rs. 800/-)
(*ii*) Licence fee of rubber, cane and agar mahal No I, paid into Kohima Treasury- Rs. 400/-. Licence fee of rubber, cane and agar mahal No II, paid into Kohima Treasury—Rs. 1,600/- Royalty on timber felled on Diger mouza Rs. 130/-.
(*iii*) Licence fee of rubber and agar cane mahals No I & II paid into Sibsagar Treasury amounting to Rs 375/- and Rs 1,600/- respectively.

(5) **Miscellaneous:**—Other trivial sources accrued from income tax and the revenue levied on the Mission compound, Kohima and on the Merapani Cotton Ginning factory. Stamp fees, judicial fines, licence fees were other mis-

cellaneous heads. An exemplary revenue derived from sale of stamps i in the chart below[1]:—

			1883-84	18
			Rs.	I
Court fee	..	..	513	:
Postage	..	..	686	!
Service Ordinary	..	..	621	(
General non-judicial	..	..	183	1
Telegraph	..	..	6,297	4,8
Receipt	..	..	77	1
Miscellaneous	..	..	5	

Pre-Independence—the following taxes were in force:—

(1) The Assam Amusement and Betting Tax Act 1939,

(2) The Assam Agricultural Income Tax Act 1939.

After Independence, the following were the taxes declared to be in fo

(1) The Assam Sales Act 1947,

(2) The Assam Finance (Sales Tax Act) 1956,

(3) The Assam Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Ac

(4) Taxation Act 1947.

Present trends:

After the inception of Nagaland, revenue schemes have been reorg so that in 1965, the main revenue receipts included State's share of i tax. estate duties and excise duties.[3] The same year the Nagaland Amus tax bill was enforced. Other present sources of revenue comprise tax on v land revenue,[4] sales tax, sale of stamps and registration fees and othe and duties.[5] Revenue receipts also accrued from land revenue, stamps (ju forest, sale-tax, other taxes, Government interest, administration of j jails, police, education, medical, public health, agriculture, veterinary, ind miscellaneous department, stationery and printing. extra-ordinary (CPO) etc. and electrical which for the whole State (with the formerl

[1] *Foreign Proceedings*, 1885, January 1885.

[2] *Official report of Nagaland Legislative Assembly*, March 1964, p 150, Statistical figure available district-wise

[3] These items brought Rs. 5,382 lakhs for the State in 1965, *Official report of the Nagaland L Assembly*, March 1965, p 101 and 102.

[4] In largest proportion accruing from Dimapur.

[5] The actual for 1965-66 being Rs. 31,81,787/- for the State, the District's share pre being the largest owing to the location of active business centre and the State headquarters in

tioned heads) amounted to Rs. 12,74,200/- for[1] eleven months (March 1961 to February 1962), Government revenue having been constituted with day-to-day receipts of house tax, trade and arms licences.

No uniform house tax prevails, for instance at Meluri, house tax assessed is Rs 2/- but in other parts of Phek Sub-division including Pfutsero, Phek and Chazouba Rs 3/- per house per annum are taken.

In 1966 Phek town alone yielded Rs 93/- as house tax but returns from licences and fines come to Rs 14,850/- for 1967. In Tseminyu Sub-division, Rs 2,000 were collected as house tax, Rs 170/-, as arms licences, and Inner line permits for Rs 50/- for 1966-67. These figures have been cited as instances which show increase of revenue trends in the District.

The latest arrangement with regard to assessments of land revenue in Dimapur mauza is as follows:—

(*a*) Residential	. Rs 60/-	assessable per bigha per annum.
(*b*) Trade centres	.. Rs 120/-	-do-

Premium

(*a*) Residential	. Rs 120/-	per bigha per annum.
(*b*) Trade centres	Rs 240/-	-do-

Transport charges constitute another source of revenue since the inception of Nagaland transport services.

One landmark in the excise administration is the passing of the Nagaland Excise bill which recognises the Deputy Commissioner as the Chief Officer incharge of the revenue and excise administration of a district, he is assisted by a District excise unit set up by the Government. The Act recognises the Government eligibility to impose an excise duty or a countervailing duty on any exciseable article –imported or exported or transported or article manufactured, cultivated or collected (under a licence granted under section 14), or manufactured in any brewery or distillery (licenced under section 15), duty rates varying according to the varying strength and quality or to the differences of places. Licence, permit or grant granted under the Eastern Bengal and Assam Act of 1910[2] would continue but fresh issues are conditioned by payment of such fees, and the fulfilment of their terms of agreement as the Excise Commissioner would deem fit. The Government has reserved the right to withdraw the licences if terms and conditions thereof are not observed punctually, other

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[1] *Official report of the Interim Body*, April-May 1962

[2] Under the modified form of Rule 75 of the Assam land and revenue regulations

rules have been prescribed for the prevention, detection and investigation of offences, and other terms having been laid down also for penalty and procedure. The Excise Commissioner appointed at the State level coordinates his activities to ensure day-to-day effective running of the administration of this department.

Among the central tax schemes being reinforced, mention may be made of the Taxation Laws (Amendment) Ordinance 1967, Commodities (Amendment) Ordinance Act (1964), Wealth-tax Act 1957, Gift-tax Act 1958 and Income tax Act 1961, the essential rates being at par with the All-India pattern.

Figures are given below as regards collection of amusement taxes for two years:—

Sale Tax	1965-66	1966-67
Tax on sales of petroleum and petroleum product including motor spirit and lubricant realised under Assam (Sales of Petroleum) Taxation Act, 1955	6,28,730 00	10,59 366.00
Tax on Sales of Forest Product realised by Forest Department	32,491.00	38,038 00
Amusement tax	1,94,611 00	2,09,110 00

With the inception of the separate State Directorate of Forest in February 1963, schemes were formulated to increase forest revenue. In 1966-67, Kohima division yielded Rs. 3,91,910.00 as revenue and stood second to Tuensang which returned Rs. 5,52,480.00 that year.

Requisitions and acquisitions of lands:

The proper authority which controls the ownership of land is the Village Council. But with the advent of the administration, provisions have been made for the acquisition of public and private lands for Government purposes. The Land Acquisition Act 1894 had been in force *proprio-vigore*, but was modified by (Requisition and Acquisition) Act 1965 which upholds Government authority to acquire any plots of land after intimating to the authorities or person(s) who own, but in the event, the acquisition was disagreed to, the Government could seize it by force and unless the owner or authorities made an appeal within 30 days, Government decision would be final. The land and buildings thereon are liable to be acquired. In assessing the compensation to be made, the market value for five years of the land has to be considered.

APPENDIX I

In 1889, Rs. 2/- per house was recommended for the following villages:—

Angami			
Chazoubama	100 houses	Rs	200 00
Yarebama .. .	150 ,,	Rs.	300 00
Sathazumi ..	100 ,,	Rs	200 00
Zogazumi	150 ,,	Rs	300 00
Phiumi ..	30 ,,	Rs	60 00
Thevopitsuma . .	100 ,,	Rs	200 00
Rungozumi	100 ,,	Rs	200 00
Pholami	150 ,,	Rs	300 00
Guetzozumi	60 ,,	Rs	120 00
Purubami	200 ,,	Rs	400 00
Sakrebami .	100 ,,	Rs	200 00
Lazaphemi	200 ,,	Rs	400 00
Phekrokedzema	150 ,,	Rs	300 00
Khezhami			
Mesolozumi	60 houses	Rs	120 00
Yasebami	60 ,,	Rs	120 00
Khezobami	250 ,,	Rs	500 00
Thechulumi	100 ,,	Rs	200 00
Lazami .	200 ,,	Rs	400 00
Angami			
Ketsapoumi ..	150 houses	Rs.	300 00
Metzalimi .	30 ,,	Rs	60 00
Kromi	150 ,,	Rs	400 00
Sewimi .	60 ,,	Rs	120 00
Khesami	100 ,,	Rs	200 00
Miscellaneous			
Raziemi } Thezami }[1]	200 houses	Rs	400 00

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[1] Some villages graded with Angami appear to have been Sema, some are Chakhesang

CHAPTER XII

LAW, ORDER AND JUSTICE

Administration of Justice

WHEN the Naga Hills District was formed in 1866-67, the Deputy Commissioner was empowered to deal with all cases, except death sentence and more than seven years' imprisonment, for which all appeals against such decision lay to the Judicial Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner was assisted by the Assistant Commissioner whose rank was that of a First class Magistrate (as defined in the Criminal Procedure Code). In the disposal of cases, great importance was attached to the local customary laws, for which a body of Naga assessors was appointed.

When the District became the Political Agency in 1872, criminal justice was administered by the Deputy Commissioner, his assistant and the village chiefs. According to the Act V of 1861, the Deputy Commissioner was competent to pass and serve sentence for less than seven years' imprisonment and fine up to any amount, but sentences which exceeded seven years had to be concurred with by the Chief Commissioner who in turn could enhance or cancel any sentence or remand the case for retrial against such sentences passed by his subordinates but no offence could be punished by sentence exceeding that awardable under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code. Village authorities in turn were empowered to dispose of cases of persons charged with any of the offences relating to injury to property not exceeding Rs. 50/-, injury to persons not endangering loss of life or limb, house-trespass and *affrontes* of whatever kind. They could levy trivial fines up to Rs. 50/-, award restitution and compensate to the extent of the injury sustained, and enforce it by distraint of the property of the offender and report to the Deputy Commissioner in case of non-payment of fines. Each village chief was to receive a *sunnad* on appointment from the Deputy Commissioner.

The above rules for the administration of justice and police in the Naga Hills District still remain in force with amendments[1] made from time to time.

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[1] Important amendments subsequently—Naga Hills (Administration of Justice and Police).
Regulation 1947 (2 of 1947)
Regulation 1952 (Regulation I of 1953)
Regulation 1954 (Regulation I of 1954)
Regulation 1955 (Regulation I of 1955)
Regulation 1956 (Regulation II of 1956)

There have been other amendments in the above arrangements.[1]

When the Interim Government was formed, it was agreed that no act or law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following would have any legal form in Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly—"(*i*) religious or social practice. (*ii*) customary Naga law and procedure and (*iii*) civil and criminal justice (so far, these would concern decisions according to Naga customary law) '. The existing laws relating to administration of civil and criminal justice as provided for in the rules for the administration of justice and police in the Naga Hills District would remain to be in force.

By the Regulation 1954 (Regulation No. 1 of 1954), an important provision has been that appeals shall lie to the High Court from any order of conviction passed by the Deputy Commissioner, awarding a sentence of imprisonment for 6 months or more, or of a fine of Rs. 1,000/- or more: that cases shall be so settled according to the tribal customary law prevailing at the time, provided such settlements were not at variance with ordinary criminal law. An important provision is that no appeal against the unanimous decision involving the breach of customary law of the village court shall lie. Village court

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Other important rules in force were—some sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898
Legal Proceedings Act, 1948
Contempt of Courts Act, 1952
Assam Court Fees Act. 1950 (Details on Penal Code see Appendix)

[1] Further amendments were made in the administration of justice by the Government of India, Act 1935 in 1937 (I) In judical matters the High Court of Assam had taken the place of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, while in police matters, an Inspector-General of Police, Assam would exercise over-all supervision. A new enactment by clause 16 lays down that a Deputy Commissioner was competent to pass any sentence authorized by law but sentences of death were to be made subject to the confirmation of the High Court The rule also provides that the High Court or the Deputy Commissioner may call for the proceeding of any Court subordinate to it or him, and reduce, enhance or cancel any sentence passed or remand the case for retrial The Deputy Commissioner was further empowered to invest an Assistant to Deputy Commissioner either generally, or for the trial of a particular case or cases in the light to the powers conferred upon the Deputy Commissioner himself except passing a sentence of death. The rules also provide that the Sub-Divisional Officer exercised his power not exceeding those of a Magistrate of the first Class as defined in the Criminal Procedure Code.

No change however was made in respect of the power of chiefs, they were to discharge their functions in letter and spirit of the original Act of 1861, they were required to take up all cases in an open *darbar* in presence of at least three witnesses and the complainant and accused Appeals against decision of a first Class Magistrate in cases the amount exceeded Rs 50/- would lay to the Deputy Commissioner The Governor was entitled to direct an appeal from an original or appealed order of acquittal passed by any court other than the High Court. Similarly powers assigned to the village heads embodied in the original Act of 1861 in Civil side were still kept in force. they were authorized to fine within the limit of Rs 50/- but were excluded from trying suits in which persons involved were not native of their own village Appeals against their decision would lay to the Deputy Commissioner or Sub-Divisional Officer. An appeal in turn lay to the High Court against the decision of a Deputy Commissioner if the value of a suit be Rs. 500/- or over, or if the suit involved a question of tribal rights or customs or of right to or possession of immovable property. In making vital decisions the magistrates were bound to take action by the spirit but not by the letter of the Code of Civil procedure. The rules contain further provision relating to the transmittance of judicial fines into the treasury and arms licences

is advised to put on record all cases settled but it is not compulsory in each and every case.

Police Force—its Organisation:—By the Act V of 1861, a regular police was constituted for the District but it was supplemented by the rural police vested in the village authorities as cognisable by the Deputy Commissioner. The control of the entire Police force devolved on the Deputy Commissioner who worked under the orders of the Chief Commissioner of Assam. The Act provided that misconduct on the part of the regular police was punishable in accordance with the provisions of the Act and the Penal Code, or any special law thereof as could be extended to the Naga Hills. Misconduct on the part of the rural police was punishable by a fine up to Rs. 500/- or by imprisonment to an extent exerciseable under the Penal Code for a like offence. In lieu of imprisonment, punishment by fines could be enforced as might be prescribed by the Deputy Commissioner or any other officer duly recognised. An appeal for all orders against decision of the village heads in police matters lay to the Deputy Commissioner subject to the approval or modification of the Chief Commissioner.

According to this provision, the Chief Commissioner exercised his powers as the Inspector-General of Police as defined by section 3, section (B.G.) of 1869. Village heads were delegated the powers to arrest all criminals and repress all disorders within their respective jurisdictions. They had been specially authorised to report to the Deputy Commissioner all crimes, violent deaths, or serious accidents likely to affect the public peace, to deliver up offenders, and bring to the notice of the administration such occurrences as promptly as possible.

Under the Act, heinous crimes include rebellion, riot, counterfeit, murder, rape, theft, robbery, dacoity, cattle stealing, arson, house-breaking and forgery. Occurrences of such offences were to be reported at once to the Deputy Commissioner or his commissioned assistants. Movements of the offenders were immediately to be traced to areas even beyond their jurisdiction but within the administrative control with the co-operation of the localities where the offender(s) had gone; but if they failed, the aid of the regular police had to be called in. The village chiefs in particular were to arrest gamblers, illegal hawkers and drunkards. The village authorities were expected to succeed in the performance of such duties entitled to them and to obtain public co-operation in respect of such functions. Failing that, they were liable to be held responsible, and punishable with fines upon themselves or the community which was apathetic to performing such works.

During the inception of administration, the work in the restoration of law and order was done by a military police side by side with civil police.

In 1884-85, the Frontier Police Force comprised 1 Commandant, 4 Subedars, 9 Jemadars, 43 Havildars and 502 Sepoys and Buglers. From that year the Frontier Police Force was reorganised and important police methods for training were introduced on physical side including drill, exercise, battalion parade, musketeer and skirmishes.[1]

Before the first world war, only one police station existed at Kohima, but outposts along the cart road existed on Nichuguard, Piphema, Zubza and Viswema. The Civil Police were chiefly concerned with the supervision of traffic on the cart road, and were not allowed to enter the Naga villages or take up a Naga case except under special orders from the Deputy Commissioner.

Important changes were enforced in 1937, the police was restituted on the lines prescribed both by the Act V of 1861 and the Assam Rifles Act, 1920, the Governor of Assam taking off the powers from the Commissioner. The Act provided that the Regular Police acted when required to do so by the Inspector-General of Police or the Deputy Commissioner. The village authorities were deemed necessary to exercise the ordinary duties of police. All the inhabitants under clause 14 were urged to aid the regular and the village police in the maintenance of order or the apprehension of culprits or for the performance of ordinary duties for public security, and liable to penalties if they refused.

During the years which marked political disturbances (at their pitch), 1957-1964, Village Guards[2] were constituted to assist the police in the restoration of order and in the prevention of further recurrences of crimes and offences resulting from subversive works and operations. The guards were armed[1] and played the part of police vide section 5(1) of the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 (Regulation I of 1948) and rule 2(b) of the rules for the administration of justice and police in the Naga Hills District along with the Assam Rifles (hitherto Frontier Police) whose existence dates back to the last century, and other security forces who also made notable exertions for maintaining public security, although their functions in certain respects were discernible from the police.

From 1957 until the appointment of the Inspector-General of Police, the Superintendent was in over-all charge of the police strength. In 1965, the

[1] *Foreign Proceedings* 1885, resolution of general administration report of the Naga Hills District for 1884-85.

[2] The duties of the village guards were to report to the administration of hostile intent and movements of lawless persons; they also provided guides and scouts to the regular army, all their functions had been carried out independently or concurrently with the security forces as and when necessary.

Inspector-General was appointed. The police strength of the District was in 1962 as follows:—

	Kohima Police Station	Dimapur Police Station
Sub-Inspector	3	2
Assistant Sub-Inspector	5	5
Head Constable . ..	1	1
Constable	29	25[1]

But the most effective measure was the setting up of the police training School at Chumukedima in 1965-66, so designed for furthering the task in imparting necessary training to the Nagaland Police at the state level. In the same year, the village guards were absorbed into the Nagaland armed police.

The Police Training School was started in 1961 hitherto without sufficiently organised staff to cope with, that time training being imparted to recruits by a few Havildars and Sub-Inspectors only while law classes were conducted by an Inspector and Sub-Inspector. In August 1965 the School was taken charge by a Deputy Superintendent of Police at Kohima assisted by an Assistant Inspector. The School became full-fledged when it was shifted to Chumukedima with permanent buildings in November 1966. The principal personnel responsible for its running at present comprise a Principal, a Chief law Inspector, a Chief Drill Inspector, 7 Sub-Inspectors and 6 Havildars. The course of training covers 6 months. Up-to-date, 37 A.S.I. and about 600 constables have turned out. The accommodation capacity is for 43 trainees. 5 Assistant Inspectors are entrusted to the refresher's Course. Recruits under training at present number almost 150.[2]

In addition four Nagaland Armed Police Battalions have been constituted in the State since April, 1964. The battalions play a role to assist civil Administration in the enforcement of Law and Order and to act as second line of defence of country. The first and the fourth are located at the District, the second is located at Alichan (Mokokchung) and the third at Tuensang, the Battalions in the District are situated at Chumukedima near the Police Training School. The Fourth Battalion however is proposed to be shifted to Kohima before the end of 1969.

For enlistment the following approach generally is adopted, "wide publicity is given in all areas prior to the date of recruitment and all candidates are

[1] *Official Report of the Interim Body*, September 1962, p. 153

[2] Information furnished by Mr Marmendang Ao, Principal. Difficulties have been encountered with to acquaint new recruits who are fresh from villages with the medium of instruction in the school.

grouped at a specified place and the Commandant of the Unit after checking the persons physically selects the eligible candidates who are appointed after medical examination".[1]

Gazetted Officers in the Armed Police Battalion are recruited through the State Public Service Commission, there is also a promotion system up to Inspectors' level. In some cases ex-army personnels' service is accepted on contract basis, some officers are deputed from other States.

Recruits receive intensive training in drills, parades and weapons for 9 months at the Headquarters. They will later on go to the respective Units for advanced training. Gazetted Officers undergo 14 months training at the Police Training Colleges outside the State or other Training centres set-up with the Central Government. Recruits are handled the following weapons—Rifle, Sten, L.M.G., 2" Mortar. Revolvers are given to higher ranks.

Normally Deputy Commissioner requisitions the services of Nagaland Armed Police for deployment in his district to P.Headquarters. On orders of police headquarters the unit concerned place the services of armed police wing at the disposal of the local civil Administration. But in case of emergency the local civil authority's requisition of services of Nagaland Armed Police to the section Commander's or Commandants has also to be ratified by the armed police authorities.[2]

This issues out of the reorganisation of the police force after the Nagaland Act 5 of 1965, (the *Nagaland police enhanced disciplinary powers Act*) which vested the superintendence and control of the Nagaland Armed Police Battalion in a person or an authority designated as Commandant of Nagaland Armed Police Battalion when so appointed by the State Government, the rules relating to the degree of disciplinary action or punishment upon the ranks and files who deserve it having been enjoined in the Act.

In 1967 police stations in the District were distributed as follows[3]:—

Station	Station
(a) Kohima Police Station	(e) Tseminyu Police Station
(b) Dimapur Police Station	(f) Meluri Police Station
(c) Birema Police Station	(g) Pfutsero Police Station
(d) Phek Police Station	

[1] No. PHQ (3)33/68 dated 5th August '69 from the Staff Officer to the Inspector-General of Police, Nagaland, Kohima to the Editor.

[2] Only in Tuensang District Village Guards are now functioning. For a common task as interior patrolling searches and combing operations N.A P. liaison with V.G. and N.A P. has precendence over V G. in the Command of such task forces

[3] No. GEN—29/65/28 274, dated 31st March 1967.

In addition, the following police outposts existed:—

(1) Buremah and Dhubinala attached to the Dimapur Tha

(2) Khezakhanoma attached to Pfutsero thana.

The composition of Police strength is appended in the table belc

	Superintendent	Deputy Superintendent	Inspector	Sub-Inspector	Asstt. Sub-Inspector	Hd. Constable	C
Unarmed branch	1	1	3	12	42	15	
Armed branch	—	1	—	6	9	62	
District special branch	—	—	1	4	7	—	

Below are the inner line check-posts attached to Dimapur:—

(*a*) Dhansiri bridge

(*b*) Nichuguard (Chumukedima)

(*c*) Pherima

(*d*) Khermahal

(*e*) Dillai Gate

Below are given the check-posts under Kohima police station:—

(*a*) TCP Gate

(*b*) Khuzama

Quarter guards are attached to the police for temporary confinem convicts. In August 1964, at the stage when jail conditions had been dete ting, prisoners were distributed outside the District as follows[2]:—

	Name of State		Name of Jail		Number of Prisc
1.	Assam	..	Tezpur District jail	..	36
		.	Nowgong special jail	..	25
		..	Jorhat District jail	..	20
2.	U.P.	..	Bareily central prisons	..	15
3.	West Bengal	..	Berhampore Central prisons	..	25
4.	Bihar	..	Hazaribagh District jail	..	25
5.	Orissa	..	Koraput District jail	..	29
6.	Punjab	..	Dharmasala District jail	..	15

It was in 1965[3] that the jail building at Kohima was extended which so enlarged, it held capacity for not less than 46 convicts but increased 250 when there was pressure. In the same year the jail centre from Gh was shifted to the Dimapur's suburbs.

[1] Position as on March 1967.

[2] *Official report proceeding of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly*, August 1964, p. 121.

[3] In 1906 the jail of Kohima consisted of a few small buildings accommodating only 24 c and 10 sick and undertrial prisoners.

Incidence of crimes:—Reports of litigation are comparatively few in number, assaults and thefts being the major offences. During the early British rule, occurrences of riots were frequent in consequences of head-hunting business. But the advent of the administration, with its restrain upon commitment of murder and human sacrifices has driven such practices to extinction. The incidence of crimes in the District for the year 1965[1] is given below:—

Offences against the state and public tranquillity		Murder		Other serious offences against persons		
District	Reported	Conviction obtained	Reported	Conviction obtained	Reported	Conviction obtained
Kohima	7	.	9	..	..	..
		Dacoity Ordinary theft		House tresspass and house breaking with intention to commit offences		
District	Reported	Conviction obtained	Reported	Conviction obtained	Reported	Conviction obtained
Kohima		.	73	..	14	1

In 1967, the Nagaland Habitual Offenders' bill was passed which seeks to provide for the treatment and training of habitual offenders. An offender is a person 'who during any continuous period of five years, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, or partly before or after the commencement of this Act, has been sentenced on a conviction on not less than three associations since he attained the age of 18 years to a substantive term of imprisonment for any one or more of the scheduled offences committed on different occasions and not so connected together as to form parts of the same transaction, such sentence not having been reserved in appeal or on revision'.[2]

Provided that in computing the continuous period of five years referred to above or any period spent in jail under a sentence of imprisonment or under detention shall not be taken into account. rules have been prescribed for the registration of habitual offenders and restriction on their movements by keeping on record particulars relating to them, the Police having been empowered to take palm or finger impressions and to take reports from records on their conduct. Rules have been formulated to prescribe for the corrective training. Rules are enforced that habitual offenders in the event of their failure to conform with the orders and the training are liable to further penalties and procedure—imprisonment or fines as rules prescribe. The courts are not valid to question the validity of any order under the Act and all the rules made under the Act are binding.

[1] *Statistical Handbook of Nagaland 1965*, p. 109
[2] *Nagaland Gazette*, October 16, 1967

APPENDIX I

Some of the most important Acts in force in the District up to the formation of the]
Government.

1. The Assam Highways Act 1928 (No. I of 1928)
2. The Assam Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Act, 1939 (No IV of 1939).
3. The Assam Maternity Benefit Act, 1944 (No. 1 of 1944).
4. The Industrial Statistics (Further Provisions Validating) Act, 1946 (No. VIII of 1946)
5. The Assam Professions, Traders, Callings and Employments Taxation Act, 1947 (No. VI of
6. The Assam Sales Tax Act, 1947 (No. XVII of 1947)
7. The Assam Kalaazar Treatment Act, 1949 (No X of 1949).
8. The Assam Jute (Control and Price) Act 1950 (No XV of 1950).
9. The Assam Drugs (Control) Act, 1951, No. I of 1951)
10 The Assam Prohibition of Smoking in Show House Act, 1951 (No IX of 1951)
11. The Assam Cement Control Act, 1953 (No. VII of 1953).
12. The Assam Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1953 (No. XV of 1953).
13. The Assam Maintenance of Public Order (Autonomous Districts) Act, 1953 (No XVI of
14. The Assam Opium Amendment (Autonomous Districts) Act, 1954 (No XXXVIII of 1954
15. The Assam Disturbed Areas Act 1955 (No. XIX of 1955).
16. The Assam Police Officers Regulation, 1883 (No. II of 1883)
17. The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation, 1885 (No I of 1886).
18. The Assam Forest Regulation 1891 (No. 7 of 1891)
19. The Chin Hills Regulation 1891 (No of 1891).
20. Bengal Cruelty to Animals Act, 1869 (Bengal Act I of 1869).
21. The Bengal Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913 (Bengal Public Act 3 of 1
22. The Assam (Excluded areas) Electricity Regulation, 1946 (No II of 1946)
23. The Naga Hills Jhum Land Regulation, 1946 (No III).
24. The Assam Tribal Areas, Administration of Town Committees Regulation, 1950 (VI of 19
25 The Assam Autonomous Districts (Cooperative Societies Regulation) 1951 (III of 1951
26. The Naga Hills District (Application of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1858) Regulatio (I of 1956).
27. Nagaland (Criminal Law Amendment) Regulation, 1962 (III of 1962).
28. The Nagaland Security Regulation, 1962 (V of 1962).
29. The Criminal Law Amendment (Extension to Autonomous Districts) Act, 1955 (No. VII of
30. Bengal Police Act, 1869 (Bengal Act 7 of 1869).

APPENDIX II

Crimes and punishment—indigenous settlement—Although there are tribe-to-tribe variations, the mode of assessing crimes and punishment is almost the same over the District, the most common system of punishment being the imposition of fines which however vary according to the nature of crimes and offences.

In Angami system a thief is punished by recovering from the thief seven times worth the price of the thing stolen, but the condition of payment might have been adjusted so, to fit in with the circumstances, if the thief was too impoverished. Otherwise he might have simply been beaten by the victim's party, or the more lenient terms may have just been imposed. If the murder by accident was committed and in the event the offender was not paid back in his coins, he was retributed by depoiting from the village for a seven years' term, on the completion of which he was allowed to return. The same terms apply to punishment of homicide caused by a duel. If death resulted of any act of treason or kidnap, the murderer and his relatives were exiled. Adultery leads to divorce, the wife relinquishing any claims.

The Zeliangroung customary law is more severe because the murderer is liable to exile for a period of seven years along with his close relatives. Their houses and property are to be destroved and their fields will be abandoned. On completion of the term, the relations of the deceased are obliged to call back those exiled to their original village. In case of adultery the wife is to leave her husband empty-handed and she has no right to claim any property.[1]

Among the Rengmas, fines imposed upon theft are taken with 30 basket of rice (now they reckon the value in terms of cash). Sometimes habitual thiefs are exposed to the public bound with ropes. Fines for adultery and robbery may have been paid in instalments for which adultery, the wife refunds the bride-price but pays the fine, while milder terms are imposed in case of men. For acts of homicide and arson, it is the exile of culprit and dismantling of his house.

[1] If divorce occurs as amongst the Pochuri, the property is equally divided between the husband and the wife, but if the latter takes the initiative and leaves him, she is deprived of the share. In case of murder, if it is not intentionally committed, the man who is responsible, is to pay with some movable property and ornaments, but now it is in terms of cash. The terms relating to adultery are more relaxable, because the wife is just divorced if she has committed such thing, whilst the other man is just fined.

Among all the tribes, rape results to punishment, acts of murder lead to excommunication of the offender (as in the case of Rengma) from the society for a definite period of one year. Now in advanced areas, time-factor for the offender's exclusion from society might have gone far less.

Exemplary cases only have been cited but they hold good to all the tribes, diversifications occurring only in the degree of punishment and the retribution to the victims.

In the past, it is said that convict places and custodies were maintained.[1]

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[1] It is regrettable that many ancient conventions have faded to oblivion from the present generation as human memories are weak and have not been capable of holding them fast

CHAPTER XIII

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT

Introductory:—Local Self-Government of any modern form was conspicuous by its absence during the British regime, the main reason being the exclusion of the district from the Provincial Legislature. It was after the inception of Nagaland and the Interim Legislative Assembly that the local administration was reorganised by modifying the existing village councils and by constituting the range and tribal councils which are worked out on the modern lines. It is useful to review the composition, role and function of the village councils during the Pre-British period.

Historical background:—The form of Government varied from tribal democracy (as among Angami, Zeliangroung, Chakhesang) to despotism (in the case of Rengma). In major cases, villages although economically interdependent were each independent politically of the other. At times confederacies sprang among certain villages for protection against war-like tribes and for other economic reasons.[1] Other tribal feuds were rampant, and traditions point out to hostile relations which had grown out amongst the Zeliangroung and Angami, the Lotha and Rengma and amongst other tribes just before the British came, which had their incursions near and far in the plain areas under the British territorial jurisdiction. A form of the fluctuating control was perhaps exercised by the Angami, particularly Mezoma and Khonoma over other smaller groups, extending to North Cachar and tribal hamlets bordering on Sibsagar.[2]

On the village organisation, the following view-points are worth-noting.

Among the Angamis, chiefs were hereditary but were returned to office on the basis of election system from among the chieftain's families. John Butler, one of the earliest visitors to these hills, wrote thus—"the authority or title of the chief of a village is hereditary. The eldest son, on the death of his father, or even before his death if very infirm, succeeds to the dignity. In most villages

[1] Tradition points out to the ancient covenants which provided the basis of allegiances amongst other villages for promoting conjoint interests Territorial rights, in normal cases, were granted by all the Naga Chiefs

[2] Stories are also told of other groups who levied taxes upon such villages bordering on the plains just prior to the British advent.

there are generally two chiefs. . . .[1] but their authority is nominal. Their orders are obeyed so far only as they accord with the wishes and convenience of the Community"[2]. The chiefs were only *primus inter pares*, removable on any occasion if so wished by the people. Being family chiefs, they wielded influence within their own clans, but their authority in society was quite nominal; lands and forests belonged to the different people who rendered no taxes, except tithes for religious festivals. Their powers were circumscribed. The established conventions sanctioned the removal of the chief, in the event he had lost the public confidence, and the election of his next successor was conducted. In the disposal of cases, the chief was assisted by a body of elders who investigated crimes and made judicial enquiries, but for the final verdict, cases were taken in public, in which the village council comprising the adult male population was the village final authority. This council assumed the entire vital issues of administration relating to an adoption of social service programmes, defence or warfare and settlement of festival dates. Priests had sacerdotal role and usually their spiritual guidance was essential in many issues connected with the village life.

True, the Angami was an elaborately tribal form of democracy which had an indigenous growth.

Similarly, the Zeliangroung system was also democratic in form. The *Hangkia* who was a president of village council like the Angami *Pehumia*[3] was circumscribed in his power. All the judical cases were taken in public, the village having in the past two chieftains—*Hangkia* the superior and *Hegwang* (may be called Deputy Chief). The village council decided and the village chieftains assisted by a sort of an executive body enforced its resolution. The Zeliangroung recognised a hereditary basis of chieftainship.

Rengma, on the other hand, furnishes a contrast, which in the olden days, was purely despotic but the election system was maintained for the return of chiefs appointed from the ruling clan. Therefore chiefs were not hereditary in the strict sense, but represented the clan. A village chief held absolute powers and in the execution of his duties, he was assisted by *Nathu*, the community priest. The village council (*Melisa*) was convened at his behest over which he presided. It was conventional that the council obeyed and enforced his orders. The *Rekhenyu* acted as his secretary conveying his orders. But the chief

[1] Probably it referred to the *khel* division, each village being divided into khels (units) which coordinated their activities only in emergency or issues relating to the whole village.

[2] *Travels and adventures in Assam*, p. 146

[3] Owing to dialectal variation, the pronunciation of titles might have differed from village to village.

was bound to take the advice of the elders who surrounded him; and restraints upon the asumption of personal powers, beyond the limits, were imposed by other conventions and usage.

Chakhesang was similar to the Angami system[1]. In major cases, big villages were headed by three chiefs; they were elected but a petty village may have had only one chief. In villages ruling clans headed the village administration. Chiefs were assisted by an executive body comprising criers, priests, sentries, messengers, police men, and other volunteers just as in the case of the other tribes. The small body as amongst Angami, Zeliangroung and Rengma scrutinized cases and disputes; in the event they failed to dispose of the case, they convened a public body to pronounce a final sentence. The *Tevo* who headed the Chakhesang village belongs to the first clan or groups of clans which founded the village. This system of ascribing portfolios of administration to clan or family founder of the village is common in other Naga societies also.

A special emphasis may be laid on the way of the council sittings. In the event the council was convened, it was compulsory that every male adult attended it, elaborate arrangements being chalked out in advance. Village criers passed out door-to-door in the village, announcing about the place and date of the meeting, the nature of business; they cried out in loud verbosities and incantation. Among other Naga tribes, drum beats from the morung howled out in the air, each distinctive transition of sonance conveying its own meaning whether it implied an emergency or a non-emergency meeting. The Rengma chief, apart from proclamation on the way explained above, may have summoned any council by sending a grass-knot as a token of message, one knot indicating one day's notice. The token is circulated in turn to other persons or parties concerned. Among the Zeliang the proclamation was carried out in accompaniments of wind instruments and trumpets, the criers passed on the village in many rounds to remind the inhabitants. In all cases, whether Angami, Rengma, Zeliang or Chakhesang, attendance of the council was a must for every adult male and was attached to with great sanctity, except if he were sick, those who refused were severely punished. Volunteers and sentries were posted to see that the order was carried out. Before dawn, housewives (among Zeliang) aroused their male counter-parts to get ready.[2] People attended in the best of their fineries and resplendent dress. Thus the true democratic system was extant and preceded the birth of the modern panchayat system in India.

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[1] The Kuki also decided their affairs in councils but their chiefs wielded more influence

[2] The Kukis also used drum beat to signify council meetings.

This form of Naga democracy has been worked out through ages in line with the traditional genius of its founders.

Transitional change:—The British administration had a great impact. The village councils became greatly mitigated in their powers. But the reverse was with Rengma, for with the progress of British administration, they saw that their village councils became more enhanced in their powers and activities while the powers of the chieftains became much mitigated. In the case of Angami and others, the chiefs may have become more elevated in their status owing perhaps to the other charges assigned to them. The councils still play a role but have less judicial and magisterial responsibilities. Among other effects, mention may be made of the abolition of head-hunting and human sacrifices. But in many respects, the councils have lost the vitality and colour they had in the past.

The village councils under the present arrangement have hitherto been restituted with greater judicial and administrative powers. Under the regulations, the three councils—village, range and tribal are empowered to coordinate their activities, they have a great role to play towards promoting law and order, security and administration. The tribal council, the representative local body acts as an advisory local board to the Government on matters of public interest and other issues which are vital within its territorial jurisdiction and advises the local co-operatives, P.W.D., Blocks and other Centres on matters relating to development. All the Chairmen and members of the range and tribal councils are paid.

Town Committee:—In May 1962, a sub-committee was constituted by the Legislative Assembly to

(*i*) examine the trend of growth of population of each town;

(*ii*) examine the precise nature of the requirements based on the developments which have already taken place.

(*iii*) examine the various ways in which the problems may be approached;

(*iv*) form a type of scheme to be taken up in the proposed towns where additional employment opportunities are to be provided; and

(*v*) examine the Naga Hills District (Constitution of Town Committees Rules of 1954 and suggest amendment thereto.)[1]

Simultaneously a town planning committee was constituted which on certain matters was advised to coordinate its activities with the sub-committee

[1] *Official Report of Interim Body of Nagaland*, April-May 1962, p. 152.

of the Legislative Assembly as regards survey and assessment of increasing problems in the new townships. The town committees for the principal administrative headquarters were simultaneously constituted with functions towards the supervision and registration of taxes, shops, arts and craft centres, co-operatives business establishments and the like. They also act as the municipal bodies.

A plan has been drawn up to increase the number of the town committees initiated during the Interim period. In the towns, the town committees have done the work in line with the terms and conditions prescribed to them. Town committees contain both official and non-official members.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEGINNINGS:

Missionaries were the harbingers of education to the District. E.W. Clark of the American Baptist Mission was the first man who came with headquarters in 1874 at Mulongyimchen in Mokokchung District. P. T. Carnegy, a Government Official wrote in 1876 that 'he is well satisfied with the progress he has been making amongst the Nagas there. The Nagas of the neighbouring villages have not attempted to interfere with him or show any displeasure at his continued residence in the hills. The Nagas of Tablong have asked me of Mr Clark's Assamese Christian teachers to come and to take his quarters amongst them and the man is doing so'. The mission station later on was shifted to Impur which became the Ao Christian centre later on.

The veritable mission work in Kohima District started in 1878 when Rev C. D King was deputed to Kohima; the District headquarters was then being shifted to Kohima from Chumukedima. But being refused permission, King had to confine himself to Chumukedima; his work there was never successful. There was opposition to mission work both from the public and government. One missionary wrote: "The greatest difficulty which the missionary had to face was perhaps overcautiousness on the part of the Government officers, as they were opposed to the missionaries". The missionary was obstructed from visiting Kohima as the Angamis had taken up arms against Government, for which in 1879, the Angami freedom struggle was subdued; during this war King fled for refuge to Mulongyimchen hitherto known as Deka Haimong and from there to the plains but returned when it was calm and was allowed to work in Kohima.

Prior to the coming of the mission, a few schools were opened by Government. A school at Chumukedima headquarters station in 1876-77 was attended only by the officials' children as the local Angamis then were apathetic to any system of education. Children were helpful mates in performing both domestic and field works and were even earning. The industrial school at Chumukedima also failed and closed down In 1878-79, three more Government schools were started.

While the mission in the Ao area had begun to bear fruits, it was not so in

Kohima. King encountered opposition and worked in the face of risks and dangers. But in 1884, his efforts had begun to meet success when a first school was opened at Kohima. He put down Angami to the Roman alphabet and taught school children to read and write in their language. King left Kohima in 1886 and the mission charge was taken over by Dr. Rivenburg.

Rivenburg was a highly qualified medical man,[1] but nevertheless he was gifted as an orthographer and educationist. He it was who successfully adapted Angami to the Roman alphabet by which he produced Angami alphabets, arithmetic and some versions of the holy scriptures for the use of school children. When the administration had become settled, opposition to the mission also became mitigated and later on, village people extended their co-operation to the mission in respect of school building. They furnished labour or materials and handed over lands for the purpose of school buildings. It was the valued co-operation of non-Christians, to a great extent, which was held responsible for the success of the earliest mission educational enterprises. As elsewhere 'the Christian missionaries were harbingers of western education. When their efforts had borne fruits, they were emulated by the Government which started to open schools and educational institutions'. An instance is exemplified by the fact that in 1911-12 out of 22 schools, 12 belonged to the mission while in 1913-14, 14 schools were managed by the mission against 13 which were Government. After 1910 one mission training centre was opened at Kohima. A high school in Kohima upgraded from the mission M.E. School was the only highest school institution in the Kohima Sadar Sub-division before Independence which became Government managed school afterwards. It was recognised as High School institution about 1939-40.

Increase in schools: In 1908-09, there were 21 Government schools, the total number of pupils being 561 boys and 550 girls. In 1909-10, schools increased to 25 but in 1911-12, they dwindled to 22 in number. In one Baptist report, it was mentioned (in 1912-13) that 14 village schools which the mission handed over to Government some six or eight years ago had closed. A few of these were reopened by the mission. At present, 'villages are asking for teachers. . . . the Nagas want education'. In 1913-14 schools went up to 24 in number.

Meanwhile the mission and the people started more venture schools. The technical school[2] (which has found out mention elsewhere) was one of the most

[1] He was at first trained in theology but later was specialized in medicine for the purpose of providing medical assistance to the local sick persons.

[2] See Chapter V.

renowned in Assam. The public was enthusiastic about having more schools of higher standard. In 1931 there was a total of 42 schools at the Kohima Sadar Sub-division alone.

But the greatest impediment to the spread of education was an absence of higher standard schools and the middle schools were few, for which up to Independence, a large number of Naga students were compelled to prosecute high school and college studies at Gauhati, Jorhat, Golaghat, Imphal, Shillong and other distant places. In 1906-07, a few Naga pupils were granted scholarships for study in Berry White Medical School, Dibrugarh. In 1907-08 scholarships were provided to Angami students to prosecute study at Gauhati.

In 1931, Mission M. E. School of Kohima had 180 pupils on its roll, two-thirds of whom were non-Christians, the school had hostel accommodation. There was no mess system but boys cooked their own meals and undertook social services such as cleaning and fencing works in the school compound. The Government M. E. School at Kohima had in October 1930, 142 pupils (10 were girls). The Missionaries had asked for Government permission to start High Schools and with their persistent efforts, the M. E. School was later on elevated to High School. In 1937, a Government hostel was also opened at Kohima.

School inspectorate during those years devolved on the Deputy Commissioner and the Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley and Hill districts.

In 1931-32 it was pointed out that 'the disadvantage of having to learn a second language in all classes at the primary stage and to pass Assamese for the M. E. and High School examinations handicaps the Naga pupils in their race for higher education'.[1] In the Mission schools, Assamese was excluded from the school curriculum but it was taught in the Government schools.

Post-Independence:—Many more schools were started after Independence, but during the disturbances, schools could not run well and some temporarily closed down. Yet despite disorders, enthusiasm was not waning on the part of the local people for opening more schools. After the Interim Government was set up, schools went on increasing by leaps and bounds, many of which started as private institutions, which later on were taken over by Government. Institutions ranging from primary to college had existed in the District by 1961-62. Up to 1963, Kohima District had 1 science college, 11 high schools, 50 middle schools, 255 primary schools, 1 basic training centre and 1 polytechnic school. In 1967, there were 3 colleges, 16 high, 66 middle and 268 primary schools. That many schools sprang on self-help efforts or began as privately organised is noted in 1961-62 when 5 high schools, 17 middle and 16 primary schools were

[1] *Census of India*, progress of education 1931, Vol. II, Part I, pp 185-187.

private institutions, unrecognised yet. Below is given the list of Government high schools in 1962-63:

(1) Kohima Government High School
(2) Pfutsero -do-
(3) Tseminyu -do-
(4) Dimapur -do-
(5) Peren -do-
(6) Viswema -do-

In 1967 the following were added to the already increasing number of high schools:—

(1) Chiechama Government High School
(2) Thinuovicha Memorial High School, Kohima
(3) Chazouba Government High School
(4) Phek Government High School
(5) Railway High School, Dimapur
(6) Christian English School, Dimapur (private)
(7) Baptist English School (private)
(8) National English School, Kohima (private)
(9) Pughoboto Private School, and
(10) Ghathasi English School (private).

To cite instances on enrolment, the Phek High School had 180 students while a total number of 178 students read in the Peren High School, both in 1967.

Headmasters of standard high schools are graded as class II gazetted officers. Many schools have libraries Hindi has been included in the school curriculum. In the leading institutions, local dances, sports and games, carpentry, arts, crafts and social services are also taught. A few schools have brought out magazines such as Peren High School magazine published in 1966-67. Drills, scoutings and cadet corps have also been introduced and guides for girls' section have been formed. Social service programmes consist of school compound and access road cleaning by the school communities, this being the vital school tradition which has continued since the days of the British Government. Liberal provisions in aid of construction and maintenance of schools have been made. Over 10 lakhs of rupees was (as an exemplary case) sanctioned in 1961-62 for the establishment of L. P. schools not to speak of middle and high schools in Kohima District alone,[1] persistent efforts simultaneously having been made to meet the dearth of teachers during the previous years.

Teachers' training centres were opened in the State and many teachers have

[1] Official report, Legislative Assembly, April-May 1962, pp 72-73

been deputed for training outside also. All the public ventures for opening of schools have been taken up by Government which provide C.G.I. sheets along with other forms of financial assistance.

English Schools

(1) Baptist English School was started in 1960 at Kohima by the local[1] Baptist Association which was begun with one teacher and 40 pupils only but expanded now to the High School with more than 600 pupils today. The Church council has been providing hostel buildings and furnitures.

(2) National School at Kohima, a proceeding High School standard.[2]

(3) Town English School at Kohima—M. E. School standard but proceeding to High School level.

(4) Little Flower School at Kohima—a Catholic M. E. School but High school proceeding.

(5) Chakhesang Baptist English School at Pfutsero which was started about 1963, with separate hostel accommodation for boys and girls; it is M. E. but proceeding High School. In 1967 the number of pupils was 120.[3] The school is managed by the Chakhesang Baptist Association.

(6) Chizami English School with a hostel; the school has imparted instructions with Kindergarten and lower standard only.

(7) All Saints Home Cambridge School at Peren (residential with about 35 boarders) under the Catholic management and 100 pupils on the roll.

(8) St. Joseph's Cambridge School (residential) M. E. Standard with forty three pupils at Puruba, under the Catholic management.

(9) Baptist English School at Dimapur with boarding accommodation. It is a High School with more than three hundred pupils.

(10) Holy Cross Cambridge School Catholic in Dimapur, not yet High School standard.

It is learned that many more English Schools will be instituted by the different public bodies. Mention may be made of Christ King School scheme, attached to the Catholic centre in the village of Kohima. It is understood that the Bethany sisters will run the School on behalf of the Catholic Mission.

In a few schools, the local language has been adopted as one subject in the curriculum.

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[1] Angami Baptist Association, reported by Field Director Kohima. p 2

[2] The extra-curricular activities include local dancing, painting, dramatics, needle works, sports and games, physical culture, social service league, boy scouts, girl guides, adult education, excursions.

[3] Other Baptist Schools are located at Chazouba, Jotsoma, Jakhama.

Curriculum:—Includes mother tongue, English, Arithmetic, general knowledge, hygiene, geography, drawing, handwork, gardenwork, physical training and games for classes III to VIII. History is prescribed for class III onward. Cultural activities are included for classes IV to VIII.[1] English school course starts with Kindergarten and lower standard.

Colleges:—(1) Kohima Science College—which was started as a private recognised institution with 52 students in September 1961. In 1964 it became Government College.[2] Instructions are imparted in mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, geology and zoology, (English and Alternative English are included for pre-university course). It is now a science graduate college. It has also a hostel with permanent buildings.

(2) Dimapur College—started by the public in 1966. It is a private recognised college. Arts and commerce subjects are taught.

(3) Kohima College—started by the public in 1967, the college imparts instructions in arts subjects—English, Alternative English, Political Science, History, Economics and Logic[3]. It was started with evening classes but now extended to day classes.

Literature—Religious

A special stress has to be laid on the growth of Angami, a predominant language in the District. As mentioned previously Angami was reduced to writing in the Roman alphabet; it was Dr. Rivenburg who produced the gospel according to St. Matthew printed in 1890, the first book in Angami. In 1892 a hymnal came out in print comprising selected pieces translated from English by Rivenburg.[4] Before 1904 the other publications in Angami were the Gospel according to St. John, the book of Acts, a small primer and an arithmetic. In 1914, St. Luke, Rivenburg's translation came out in print.

The service of the Rev Dr. Rivenburg was manifold, in that a dispensary was started at Kohima for the benefit of the local sick people, in that he built up the first Angami Mission school, in that he organised Christian Mission work at their area and in being the father of the Angami alphabet. Revelation in an Angami rendering was printed in 1918. In 1924, the books of Philippians, Colossians and Ephesians were edited in the Angami language. But progress

[1] *Revised curriculum* for Nagaland schools, pp 1-3.

[2] Grants-in-aid have been made over to college institutions, for instance in 1963-64, over Rs. 1 49 lakh was given to Kohima Science College.

[3] Over 160 students are attending the P.U Classes.

[4] An enlarged hymnal edited by Tanquist came out in 1918.

in the translation work of the Bible was rather slow for, it was not until 1927 that the New Testament was printed, while the version of Genesis was printed up to 1923.[1] In 1927 and 1937, the second and third edition respectively of the New Testament came out. In 1960 the next edition came out. Much of the translation was done by Angami collaborators.[2] Recently Bible Translation Checking Committee[3] was constituted to accelerate the work, by which 30 books of the old Testament have been translated and the version of Deuteronomy is being prepared. The complete Bible in Angami is now in the Press.

Apart from the Bible translation work, the Christian centre has also published a number of booklets and translations from the English classics, the most significant being the version of the *Pilgrim's Progress* which came out in print in 1953.[4] Yet much of the work not yet completed by the missionaries has been brought to completion by the Angami translators themselves with an object in view of making the revised portion more authentic. The two Angami Christian journals in wide circulation are *Ketho Mu Kevi* and *Kohima Mission Leshu* distributed from the Kohima Christian book room. In Chakhesang, a journal entitled *Chakhesang Christian Leshu* was in large circulation in 1959-61 distributed from Phek, the Christian centre which has recently shifted to Pfutsero where there is now a Baptist English School.

The other Christian publications worth-mentioning comprise *Christian Kehou Dze* (for the use of vernacular Bible school) edited in 1958, *Pastors' Handbook* (mimeographed), *Dieliekevi Tsalida* (Gospel-songs) and *Parables*, also *Church History* and *Way of Salvation* in Angami renderings in addition to a hymnbook.

The Catholic Church has also produced leaflets recently in the form of prayer book and a bible story.

Secular:—The primer and arithmetic by Dr. Rivenburg had been in the use of schools, which from time to time were revised In 1904 *A Way to Health* in Angami by Rivenburg was published. In 1905 was published Rivenburg's work *English and Angami Naga Phrases.* In 1915 Tanquist revised the primer whilst in 1930, Supplee made a new edition of the first reader. *Angami-English Dictionary* by Dr. Haralu (in 1933) is another notable contribution, compiled with the help of other Angami collaborators. The dictionary was revised by Mr. J. E. Tanquist, an American Baptist at Kohima. Angami interpreters of the Deputy Commissioner's staff namely Neihu and Lhouvisielie of Kohima, Nukhriehu of Jotsoma, and

[1] The second edition came out in 1950, published by the Bible Society

[2] One of the noted collaborators in Bible translation work was Mr Zapuzhulie

[3] Comprising Mr A. Kevichusa (retired Deputy Commissioner), Miss K Iralu and Miss B Shuya

[4] Translators were Khriezie, Lhoulienyu and Zapuzhulie. It was revised by Pelhouzolie and Dr Uzielie published in 1953.

Thepfushitsu of Khonoma also assisted a lot in giving modification. The Kohima at variance with the Khonoma dialects are used. The preface has amply been brought out by Dr. Haralu with an autobiographical sketch. It was Dr. Hutton who recommended it to the press.

It is worthy of note that other secular publications in Angami by the Church were *Kephruda Keneu* (an arithmetic), and *Words, Divisions and Spellings*.

In pre-Independence, there had been reports of dearth of standard books and the need for literature was felt. As early as 1897, reports go to suggest that the 'enthusiasm for education has perceptibly increased that there has been a marked revival in letters—a sort of Naga renaissance' and simultaneously the need to perpetuate the Naga thought, musical expressions, incantations, folk-tales and oral traditions in literature.

It may be relevant to point out here that for some time during the pre-Independence, Assamese was read side by side with mother tongue in the Government schools. But afterwards Assamese was abandoned.

Contemporary:—Literature in other forms has also evolved during the post-Independence. Among the text-books which the Text-book Production Branch has produced, mention may be made of the following:—

(1) *Kephruda Kesau I*—1963
(2) *Kephruda Kesau II*—1963
(3) *Mhaphruda I*—1963
(4) *Mhaphruda II*—1963

They are school readers suitably amended of the old ones used in the schools up-till the inception of the Interim Government. Ruzhukhrie Sekhose is the most notable literary figure among the Angamis at the present times. He is a versatile writer so much that the subject-matter which have received considerable treatment in his hands are varied. On linguistics, he has produced the following works in Angami:—

(1) *Angami Idiomatic*—1958
(2) *Spelling Word Division*—1962
(3) *Initiatory Grammar*—1959

These works are expected to go a long way towards enriching vocabularies. On folklore, his contributions comprise the following: –

(1) *U Kenei dze, part I and II*—1954
(2) *Angami Naga Folklore*—1964

In addition he has written a book entitled *Gandhiji* published in 1962.

In respect of lexicon, a book entitled *Angami-English-Hindi* by Benjamin was published in 1962. Miss Beilieu's *Angami mu English*, Anglo-Angami phrases

is another contribution. The *Aesop's Fables* adapted of English by His: was published in 1964.

In addition an outline *History of India* by Lhoulienyu was pub 1962. Kumbo Angami's work entitled *Miavimiako dze* with materia from Assam's history is considered to be an addition on the study o printed in 1948.

On hygiene and health, the following are important:—

(1) *Keshurho dze da*—printed in 1955 by R. Zhavise Angam

(2) *Umo kevida*—printed in 1958 by Dr. Uzielie Angami.

Geographical topic is comprised of the following—*Kiju* D. D. Phewhuo (1962). On education, the following is av: *Mhasidie* (1963) by R. K. Neihulie. In addition there *stories* compiled by Dino and Viswedel which came out There is a little corpus of a written literature but there pects of its future growth.

Other Mother Tongues:—Angami is the only language reduced tc Other tribes such as the Chakhesang and the Zeliangroung use it as a of instruction. The Chakhesang and the Rengma are trying to deve respective alphabets. As regards Bible translation the Chokri group a to do their own and so do Pochuri (Sangtams) on the initial st: Chakhesang have further pressed to include one qualified Chakhesar in the Bible translation committee for safeguarding their linguistic The only publications in Rengma (in Ntenyi dialect) are the *Four Go* the *Acts* in addition to a hymn book and a few other booklets. The] also use Angami in the church and as medium of instruction in their But at present Rengmas have attempted to accelerate Bible tra in their language. Even in Zemi, small publications such as the *Pastor's* by H. K. Lungalong (1962) and the version of *St. Matthew* are availa Zeliangroung have also attempted to speed up translation of the

Text-Book Production:—The Text-Book Production branch as a Education Directorate took its inception in 1961-62. Language offic been appointed to write school text-books in major local languages, to certain approved school text-books into principal languages, to prepare and incur expenditure for printing of text-books produced departı to distribute such books to the Deputy Inspectors of schools for respect

[1] Zeliang at Haflong have produced recently a primer while translation works a Kabui have been intensified.

and to invite private writers for writing text-books and for contribution of specially selected articles. Text-books are prepared and procured departmentally.

Text-books in Angami comprise primers, readers, arithmetic, history and geography for primary and middle standards and vernacular for higher classes, prepared by the recognised local writers. Angami is one of the two major Nagaland languages recognised to the secondary level and one of the four languages in which text-books are printed.

In addition there is a State Text-Book Committee with 19 members representing different tribes with Director of Education as chairman.

The terms of reference, duties etc are:—

(1) to scrutinize all the text-books written and published by various authors for use in the schools:

(2) to advise the Director of Education in the selection of text-books for various classes:

(3) to delete the names of unsuitable text-books if such books are in use in any recognised school:

(4) to advise the Education Department in the preparation of text-books:

(5) to keep in forming an education library and in maintaining it.

The life of the Committee is five years.

Journals and Newspapers:—A leading newspaper in the District is the English weekly entitled *Citizens Voice* which till March 13, 1968 has run the fiftieth issue. It is issued every Wednesday. The weekly contains useful local news items and healthy constructive views. Mr Neituo Angami is the Editor. It is printed at Kohima Printing Press. (On April 4, 1968, it has covered one year of its circulation.)

Another is *Naga Chronicles* (news and views: fortnightly) which up to December 1967, has run Number 7 of Vol II. It contains news columns on diverse public affairs; one column contains themes on Naga culture. It is printed from Manipur[2]. The Kohima Printing Press is the only private press of the District which caters for the printing works in several languages. There is a Government Press at Kohima.

Adult Education:—Efforts but not on intensive scale were made by the mission previously to set up adult education centres in the interior places. The present Government has revitalised adult education programmes among

[1] *Nagaland Gazette*, December 30, 1967 The Kuki Text Book Committee has also recently been formed

[2] In 1966 it was printed at Kohima Printing Press The paper does not run regularly fortnightly. From May 1968, the paper has stopped circulation.

the masses for which 30 adult education centres have been opened in the District, graded as Government night schools equipped with teaching aids and other stationeries. The course covers one year. There are adult education centres of the Blocks also.

Scholarships:—Scholarships vary from Rs 15/- in the case of middle standard pupils to Rs. 75/- at post-graduate level while meritorious students get additional benefits and facilities. Education is free up to the High School stage, except English medium schools which take school fees and other charges.[1] Stipends are granted to girls and students who prepare for technological studies.[2]

Teachers' Training—There is a teachers' training centre in the District located at Chiechama which runs basic training course. By the close of 1967 there are in the District 365 trained teachers against 1,400 untrained. Teachers have been deputed also to the centres outside the State for training.

The total number of teachers for the District in 1967 is as follows:—

(1) 11—post-graduate
(2) 70—graduate
(3) 56—under-graduate and matriculate
(4) 1,351—under-matriculate

Trained

Graduate—19
Under-graduate and matriculate—4
Under-matriculate—342

Physical Training and Health Services:—Facilities for physical training both for boys and girls are available in almost all the schools. School tournament is organised and held annually where various schools participate in the various sports and games some of which are indigenous. High and long jumps, jevelin throw and stone weighing are very popular. Football is favourite game.

It is important to note that District School Health Advisory Committee has recently been formed for Kohima District with Deputy Commissioner as Chairman and eight other members with functions to assist in the formulation of national health policies and programmes ..to encourage and assist the institutions in the establishment of School Health Services and School Meal

[1] In the National School, fees vary from Rs 10/- to 20/- according to classes. Other charges are admission, apparatus, examination, game and library.

[2] During 1963-64, 105 scholarships were disbursed for elementary stage, 100 for secondary stage, 27 for University stage and 6 for Sainik schools, shown State-wise.

Programmes and to coordinate them;...to initiate and guide studies, research and training on problems connected with School Health Administration and Services...to assist in the formulation of standards for School Health Services and to lay down uniform procedures; ... to advise the State Government in the allocation of grants and other resources to the State for school health programmes; to take steps to enlist the active participation of the people in the implementation of the programme; to consider the problems raised by the institutions or any individual members, to refer the problems and defects to the State Health Advisory Committee.

Literacy:—According to the census of 1961, the total population numbers 1,08,924 in the proportion of 57,704 male to 51,220 female. The proportion of literacy is as follows.

Number of literate persons to 1,000	Number of literate males to 1,000	Number of literate females to 1,000
209	299	108

The percentage of literacy is 20 91 in proportion of 29 87 male to 10 81 female according to 1961 census.

Commercial Institutes:—Such institutes which offer shorthand and typewriting facilities are located at Kohima and Dimapur.

Bible School:—There is one vernacular school in the District opened in 1946 which offered training to pastors and Christian field workers not only Angami but other tribes as well. The school discontinued during the political disturbance but was reopened in 1967.

Libraries:—There is a book room-*cum*-library of the Directorate of Information and Publicity in Kohima. Another library at Kohima is *Gandhi Memorial Library*. There is one women's library at Dimapur. Many schools have libraries. Government departments connected with research, evaluation, census, planning and coordination have their respective libraries. Books for school libraries are procured centrally by the Education Department

CHAPTER XV

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

Introductory—Historical Background

PUBLIC health started with the opening of a charitable dispensary at Chumukedima which in 1875 was declared 'to have attained a popularity with the indigenous population'. In 1878-79, 449 outdoor and 152 indoor patients were receiving treatment in it. In this connection, it may be worth-noting to recall Mr Cooper, renowned for his proficiency in handling delivery cases. Mr Cooper won the admiration and love of many Nagas who paid him glowing tributes as the father of public health in their country. In 1905-06 it was reported that the dispensary at Kohima was ten-bedded while Wokha was four-bedded. But the hospital (when upgraded from dispensary) at Kohima was running short of surgical apparatus while Wokha and Mokokchung dispensaries were hard pressed with accommodation problems. Another dispensary was opened at Henima in 1906-07 while a hospital camp was also set up at Piphema. Below is appended the number of patients who received treatment in the District's hospital and dispensaries:—

Patients	1907-08	1908-09
Indoor	1,675	1,964
Outdoor	35,405	37,425

During the Japanese invasion, hospital camps were scattered all over the District in the charge of both military and civilian doctors for extending medical relief to the wounded soldiers and sick evacuees.

Vital Statistics: –Vital statistics have not been available as regards birth and death rates owing to the disturbances which raged the District from 1955 to 1964. As early as 1905-06, B. C. Allen wrote thus—'In the absence of all statistics it is difficult to say whether the death rate is high or not. The Nagas do not increase rapidly in numbers, but this may possibly be due more to a low birth-rate than to a high mortality'. Prof. J. H. Hutton is of the opinion that the occupants of a Naga house 'seldom exceed five in number. A man and his wife with perhaps two or three children, perhaps an aged and widowed parent, perhaps a younger brother still unmarried—such is the usual family. Children are not numerous, and, owing perhaps to a high death-rate among

infants, it is the exception to see more than three children to a family'.[1] There is no denying the fact that in the hills the birth-rate is low which accounts for a poorer rate of density of population than in the plains.

Diseases Common to the District:—Up to 1900, there were reports of the incidence of epidemics such as small pox, fever, cholera and anthrax. Most of the diseases originated in the foothill areas with their insalubrious climate. Sometimes diseases were spread by contagions from the plains. For instance up to the last world war, malaria was described to be endemic in Dimapur area and around and was very much feared. But it subsided when the soldiers cleared the swamps and marshes by heavy counter medical operations. But malaria still survives elsewhere. The lower hills have more incidence of small pox, dysentery, cholera, malarial fever and influenza which raged Chumukedima and Dimapur areas, frequently reported in the Dimapur hospital. Pneumonia, anthrax, chicken pox, measles, dysentery and enteric fever are the other cases reported in the hills. Sometimes such diseases cause high infant mortality rate. Goitre and venereal diseases are not so common in the District. Malarial fever and lung diseases before the first world war caused considerable proportion of the total casualties but the large number of deaths was caused too by measles and influenza. Other ailments in the District comprise black water fever, respiratory, stomach, eye and ear diseases, inflammation and ulceration, and tuberculosis. But such cases are not too many. Among other diseases, leprosy has more occurrence in Zeliangroung area.

At the Kohima civil hospital (also called Naga hospital) are treated cases[3] comprising anaemia, bronchitis, broncho pneumonia, fever, malaria, pulmonary tuberculosis, tuberculosis on other organs, joints and bones, typhoid fever, infective hepatitus, diarrhoea and dysentery, intestinal parasites, eye and dental diseases,[2] injuries, skin diseases, goitre and others. Such diseases have become more perceptible perhaps due to the growth of population.

During 1966-67, there have been incidences of small pox in the District but for prompt action the outbreak subsided.

Standard of Sanitation:— Health services are being appreciated amongst the village people, day by day. Medical sciences attained popularity as early as 1875, from which date, the local people were taking themselves to vaccination rapidly as safeguards against epidemics. In 1902-03 it was reported that 76 persons per mile of the population were successfully vaccinated every

[1] Thus Hutton differed from Allen as the former thought that there was a high mortality rate among children

[2] Eye inflammation which is quite noticeable perhaps is due to the smoke stained dwellings.

[3] *DHS—8(B) 2/68)/0109*, dated Kohima, 4th April 1968.

year from 1897 onward. But sanitary conditions have not been improved in the villages unless their living conditions are ameliorated. Some villages are heavily congested with houses which have no compounds and no proper ventilation system. Villages have no adequate latrine provisions. The townships which have emerged on Government schemes have much more improved sanitary conditions. In 1961-62 a team of personnel comprising rural health inspector, sanitary inspectors and vaccinators was constituted to promote better sanitary conditions amongst the mass of the village people.

Hospital Institutions:—Foremost among the present hospitals is the Kohima civil hospital generally known as the *Naga Hospital.* It is the gift of the Government[1] to the Nagas of the District in recognition of their assistance and co-operation with the allies in the defence of India from the Japanese. It is situated on a hill side at the town's exit on Dimapur national highway. The hospital is well equipped and is one of the standard institutions inside the State. It has 322 beds assigned as follows:[1]

1. Childrens' ward	32 beds (one ward)
2. Female ward	97 (two wards)
3. Male ward	80 (two wards)
4. Maternity and others	97
5. T.B.	16
Total	322

So far since its inception in March 1948, 2,05,830 cases have been taken up. The hospital is in the charge of the Civil Surgeon. Major and minor operations are conducted and some cases are brought from other medical institutions in the District. The hospital has residential buildings for the staff.

A new Tuberculosis hospital just opened in 1969 is situated at Khuzuma on Manipur border, it is 50 bedded. The tuberculosis establishment at Kohima is abolished since its inception.

The number of hospitals and dispensaries with their staff position prior to December 1957 in the hospital institutions is appended in the chart below:—

Name of Hospital	Staff	
1. Kohima Civil Hospital	C A S	5
	A S. II	6
	Compounder	6
	Sister in charge	1

[1] Figures relevant up to December 1967.

Name of Hospital	Staff	
1. Kohima Civil Hospital—(*contd*)	Sister tutor	1
	Sister nurse	8
	Midwife	1
	Driver	3
	X-Ray mechanic	1
	Laboratory Assistant	1
	Dresser	1
	F A	3
	Sirdar	1
	Handyman	3
	C E.	42
2 Dimapur Civil Hospital	C.A S	1
	Compounder	1
	Sister nurse	1
	Dresser	1
	F A	1
	C E	6
3 Henima Civil Hospital	C A S	1
	Compounder	1
	Sister nurse	1
	F A	1
	C E	1
4. Tseminyu Civil Hospital	C A S	1
	A S H	1
	Compounder	1
	Sister nurse	1
	F A	1
	C E	4
5 Phek Dispensary	C A S	1
	A S H	1
	Compounder	1
	Sister nurse	1
	Dresser	1
	C E	1
6 Rangapahar Forest Dispensary	A S H	1
	Compounder	1
7 Kohima Town Dispensary	C A S	1
	A S H	1
	C E.	1
8 Ghaspani Health Centre Medziphema	C A S	1
	Compounder	2
	Sanitary Inspector	1
	P H I.	1
	Midwife	1

Name of Hospital	Staff	
8 Ghaspani Health Centre Medziphema—(*contd*)	Driver	1
	Dhai	1
	Office Peon	1
	Handyman	1
	Chowkidar	1
	M.C.	1
	C E	2
9 Kohima Leprosy Colony	F A.	1
	C E.	1
10 Akhegwo Dispensary	C A.S	1
	Compounder	1
	C E	1

The following institutions were added after 1957:

Name of Hospital	Staff	
1 Birema Hospital	C A S	1
	Compounder	1
	Nurse	1
	C E.	1
	Dresser	1
	F A	1
2 Chazoubama Hospital	C.A S.	1
	Compounder	1
	Nurse	1
	Midwife	1
	Chowkidar	1
	M C.	1
3 Chizami Hospital	C A S	1
	Compounder	1
	Midwife	1
4 Chiechama Dispensary	C A S.	1
	Compounder	1
	Chowkidar	1
5 Pugholoto Dispensary	C A S.	1
	A S II	1
	Compounder	1
	Dhai	1
	C E.	2
6 Pfutsero Dispensary	C A.S.	1
	Compounder	1
	Midwife	1
	Dhai	1
7. Viswema Dispensary	C A.S.	1
	A S II	1

Name of Hospital	Staff	
7 Viswema Dispensary—(*contd.*)	Midwife ..	1
	Compounder ..	1
8. Kohima Health Centre	Compounder ..	1
	Midwife ..	1
	Dhai ..	1
	Chowkidai ..	1

At present there are in the District 11 hospitals, all graded civil per list below with the number of beds[1]

Name and location	Date of inception	No of bed.
1 Kohima Civil Hospital	1948	322
2. Dimapur	1947-48	20
3. Ghaspani	1957-58	12
4. Tseminyu	1952-53	12
5 Birema (Paren)	1947-48	12
6. Chizami	1961-62	12
7 Chazoubama	1963-64	12
8 Dhansinpai	December 12,1966	12
9. Viswema	October 2, 1966	
10. Phek	Established by the British Government	10
11. Henima	1906-07	10

In addition the Dispensaries are located at:—

	Opened in		Opened in
1. Akhegwo	1961-62	9. Pughobuto	1959-60
2. Bangolong	1961-62	10. Pfutsero	1959-60
3. Chiechama	1959-60	11 Pherima	1959-60
4. Chumukedima	1964-65	12. Thudo	1964-65
5. Chunglika	1959-60	13. Dzuhami	1966-67
6. Kilomi	1961-62	14 Haleilwa	1966-67
7. Meluri	1961-62	15. Malvom	1966-67
8. Nakama	1964-65		

There is also a separate hospital for Police Armed battalions and Police Training School at Chumukedima.

Each Dispensary has two to four beds to meet emergency cases.

[1] It applies up to June 1968

The following are the health units as small dispensaries:—

	Date of inception		Date of inception
1. Chitheba	.. 1958-59	10. Piphema	.. 1967
2. Chalkot	.. 1958-59	11. Rukhroma	.. 1958-59
3. Heningkola	.. 1962-63	12. Sakraba	.. 1966-67
4. Jotsoma	.. 1962-63	13. Tosophenyu	.. 1966-67
5. Kohima Town	March 15, 1967	14 Zuketsa	.. 1962-63
6. Keruma	.. 1967	15. Chepoketami	. 1968
7. New Zubza	.. 1966-67	16. Pulomi	.. 1967
8. New Henima	.. 1958-59	17. Dimapur Town	.. 1968
9. Pilmia	.. 1958-59		

Hospitals in which beds exceed 150 are provided the following personnel:—

Medical Superintendent	—1
Medical Officer	—1
Lady Medical Officer	—1
Dental Surgeon	—1
Surgical Specialist	—1
Medical Specialist	—1
Pathologist	—1
Obstretrics	—1
Gynaecologist	—1
Anaesthetist	—1
Eye Specialist	—1
E.N.T. specialist	—1
Matron	—1
Assistant Matron	—1
Nursing Sisters	—16
Staff Nurses	—30
Auxiliary Nurse/ Midwives	—10
Nurse Tutor	—1

The number on the medical staff varies however according to the size of hospitals, for instance hospitals with 25 to 49 beds, have 2 medical officers, 1 nursing sister, 5 staff nurses and 4 auxiliary nursing midwives. Hospitals less than 24 beds are given each 1 medical officer, 2 staff nurses and 1 auxiliary nurse midwife. So

ution of ministerial staff (office assistants, store keepers) and other pounders, laboratory assistants, store chowkidars and attendants according to the hospital size. The biggest hospital is given micros-gical assistants, assistant radiographer and other technical hands. nsary staff comprises medical officer (graded as A.S. I or A.S. II), er, auxiliary nurse or midwife, medical attendant and laboratory

: is no denying the fact that health services have made enormous Under the present pattern, arrangements have been made that one nit covers 67 square kilometres and one bed covers 560 persons.

re of Health Services:—The programmes mainly include promotion by opening hospitals, dispensaries and primary health centres which ·3 and 2 respectively in March 1968. Schemes have been laid down to raining for medical personnel outside, moreover national programmes 'adication of malaria, tuberculosis, small pox and leprosy have been the efforts which have received appreciation everywhere. The response ng, for the public have been extending co-operation in the construction d buildings and lands for building have been acquired, free of cost, ge people. The fullest use of medical advice has been taken by the d medical services have been highly appreciated.

'r Health Measures:- Now emphasis should further be laid on the tation of health drive programmes of small pox and malaria eradica-nes and B.C.G. vaccination campaigns.

nall Pox Eradication Programme: -From its inception in 1963, imary vaccinations and 1,22,284 revaccinations have been under-

ational Malaria Education Programme:--The programme was in 1959 at an intensive scale so that incidence of malaria has been 'om 30% to 3%.

.C.G. Campaign: - Started in 1959—Up to date, it has covered 98,031 ı the district.

ldition, during 1966-67, S.E.T. (team) Leprosy centre has been opened strict, the team is investigating and taking up leprosy cases. Moreover ct school health advisory board has recently been constituted to assess itness of student community and ameliorate health conditions.

APPENDIX

Number of Hospitals, dispensaries and beds for Kohima District:—

	Hospitals	Dispensaries	Beds
1961	6	5	236
1962	8	7	260
1963	8	7	260
1964	9	7	272
1965	9	24	272

	Medical Personnel		
	Doctors	Compounders	Nurses
1961	15	34	20
1962	17	37	22
1963	23	40	27
1964	26	41	31
1965	30	41	32

	Patients	
	Indoor	Outdoor
1963	64,719	64,719
1964	74,834	72,134
1965	14,423	69,672

CHAPTER XVI

PUBLIC LIFE AND VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICES

Nagaland Legislative Assembly

BY the Government of India Act 1935, the Naga Hills District was grouped with the Excluded Area. The Governor as the Agent of the Governor-General was incharge and the affairs of the District were run by the Deputy Commissioner. The District remained unrepresented in the Assam Legislative Council. Shortly after independence, the District however was given representation in the Assam State Legislative Assembly, 3 seats being provided for Naga Hills District. But the general election both to the Assam Assembly and the Parliament in 1952 were boycotted by the Nagas although in the next election held in 1957, three Naga members returned uncontested to the Assam Assembly, one of them being appointed a Deputy Minister.

It was not until the formation of the Interim Government however, when Nagas came into their own, that a measure of a well organised representative Government was introduced. At the first session of the Interim Body of Nagaland, Kohima District was represented by 14 members, 3 Angami, 3 Zeliangroung, 4 Chakhesang, 2 Rengma and 2 representatives from Dimapur Mouza against 8 members from Mokokchung and 14 from Tuensang. At the Interim Body's second session in September 1961, it was decided that in matters relating to election in Kohima and Mokokchung District, "it would be based on adult suffrage by forming territorial constituencies". 40 members were to be elected from both the districts The constituencies were to be delimited on population basis which would give enough scope to representatives so elected to safeguard the interests of the minor tribes such as the Kacharis and the Kukis. Arrangements were made as far as practicable that one constituency covers 6,000 population. For Tuensang, the system of indirect election exists, for which its Special Regional Council shall be responsible for sending its own members until further arrangements to elect them directly. For an interim period of ten years 6 members from the Tuensang Regional Council are sent to the Legislative Assembly.[1] It was agreed that during the subsequent arrangements, patterns should be laid down that 60 members or more could represent the State in accordance with provisions of the Election Commission.

[1] Now the members have been increased to 12

The following chart will help illumine the electoral pattern of the district after the elections held in 1964.

Name of the Constituency	Location (extent of the constituency)	Total number of voters
Western Angami Assembly Constituency	Jotsoma, Khonoma, Mezema, Sechuma, Kerupheima, Zubza, Khabvuma, Thekrenuma, and Dzelakie villages and Dakline Sector of Kohima Town	3,770
Kohima town Assembly Constituency	Kohima town excluding Dakline Sector	4,862
Northern Angami (i) Assembly Constituency	Kohima, Merema, Thizemai, Chiedema and Chieswema villages	3,113
Northern Angami (ii) Assembly Constituency	Siyhama, Teichuma, Botsa, Tophema, Nachama, Nerhema, Keruma, Chiechama, Garciphema, Rukhroma, Phekrekrima, Kijutuma and Dhioma villages	4,324
Tseminyu Assembly Constituency	Nshinyu, Kontsenyu, Nsunyu, Tesophinyu, Zephinyu, Gukhanyu, Tseminyu, Zesynu, Phyenhweyny, Khengunyu, Terogonyu, Phesenyu, Khengunyu, Remensenyu, Sendenyu, Chemekhuma, Tsosenyu, Chosesyunyu villages	3,373
Pughoboto Assembly Constituency	Kitami, Chaphimi, Chukmi, Kichlimi, Awohumi, Shishilimi, Natsumi, Mishilim, Lazami, Iphonumi, Pughoboto, Mukalimi, Chishilimi, Ighuni, Kilonii and Chisolimi villages	4,257
Southern Angami (i) Assembly Constituency	Jakhama, Chakhabama, Kigwema, Phesema, Pfuchama and Mima villages	2,925
Southern Angami (ii) Assembly Constituency	Viswema, Khuzama, Kedima, and Kezoma villages	3,236
Dimapur Town .. .	Dimapur Town area	6,422
Dimapur . ..	Eralibil including Ikranigaon and Ikrani Pathar, Bamun Pukhuri, Daroga Pathar, Padam Pukhuri, Purana Bazar, Naharbari, Darogajan, Dhansiri Bengalee, Goneshnagar, Nepaligaon, Lengrijan, Kachangaon, Nagagaon, Rangapahar Saw Mill, Dobagaon, Bengalee, Signal Busti, Thehekhum Nagorjan, Kusiabil, Uria Dhansiripar, Doyapur, Disagophu, Amaluma, Hazadisa, Manglumugh, Rangaphar Forest Colony, Singrijan, Khopa Nulla, Sangtam, Samaguri and Fafijung villages	3,553

Name of the Constituency	Location (extent of the constituency)	Total number of voters
Ghaspani	Kievi, Lhothabi, Shokhuvi, Zhutovi, Pimla, Zhuikhu Hanimi, Muhomi, Kiyazu, Hozekhi, Khenoi, Chekiya, Gohoto, Molvem, Khabvung Bungsang, Sirhima, Maova, Seiduma, Sat Mile Bosti, Diphupar, Ghaspani, Kukidolong, Kamkria, Pherima, Chumukedima, Razephema, Mezhiphema, Sitikima, Chiepama, Viphoma, Sochunoboma, Teluvi, Jhornapani, Nichuguard, Piphema, New Piphema and Piphema Bazar villages	3,261
Tening	Nchangram Inkio, Tening Henima, Kuki, Tepum, Nzouma, Ntu, Nzouma, Lalong, Nsong, Ngoulong (Tsma), Mechangbung, Phaiuklam, Soget, Sinjiol, Chamcha, Sailhem, Bongkolong, Bolsol, Khelma, Banumpui, Inbung, Chalkot, Bolbung, Vongkithem, Songsang, Khaljang, Lilen and Phanjang villages	2,953
Peren .	Peren Town, and Punglwa, Bereu, Heningkunglwa, Gaili, Ndunglwa, Mhai, Haiнukui, Puilwa, Punglwa, Zalnuke, Peletke, Peren, Mpai, Keudung, Tese, Mbophunglwa and Ngawlong villages	3,166
Pfutsero	Nizama, Kikrima, Pfutsero, Tekhubaria, Lekromi, Terhomi, Kami Therprezumi, Khezukhonoma and Leshemi villages	2,709
Chazouba (1)	Chazouba town and Chazouba, Khesomi, Thevuposimi, Yarebama, Sathazu, Bawe, and Rungozumi villages	2,118
Chazouba (2) .	Phesachaduma, Thenuzumi, Chuphuzumi, Chesezu Basa, Chesezu Bawe, Khulazu Basa, Khulazu Bawe, and Runguzumi villages	2,887
Phek .	Khuzami, Khetsami, Terhechesema, Dzulhami, Chipiketami, Nabotomi, Tehephemi, Khotso, Khotsekonomi, Ketsaphomi, Khomi Upper, Khomi Middle, Khomi Lower, Phek Basa, Phek Bawe, Pholami and Purubama villages	3,444
Chizami . .	Zamai Chabama, Zelhuma, Chizami, Swemi, Chozotomi, Chakrabami, Mesolozomi, Yesebama, and Thechulumi villages	2,7:9

Name of the Constituency	Location (extent of the constituency)	Total number of voters
Meluri	Lazaphemi, Lozami, Kizare, Kotisumi, Tesza-sumi, Sohemi, Meluri, Kalifo, Tsikozo, Akhegwo, Satusa, Tephori, Molen Pur, Moke, Yisi, Ziepu, Reguri, Kezatu, Yisesu, Laruri, Sutsu, Ngazu, Phokungri, Thewati, Kanjang, Washilu, and Khen villages	2,984

In addition, rules have been framed that the member to the Lok Sabha is elected on the basis of adult suffrage throughout Nagaland in which Tuensang is given option to perform single vote system. The representative to the Rajya Sabha is elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly as in conformity with the practice prevalent all over India.

The two political parties which play vital part in the Naga politics after the inception of the Interim Government are Naga National Organization and the Democratic Party now known as the United Front of Nagaland.[1]

Voluntary Social Services :--There are Christian voluntary associations for which emphasis has previously been laid on Christian endeavour youth groups, women's associations and miscellaneous bodies Further, there are also village voluntary social service groups organised *khel*-wise which are looking after cleaning of village paths, construction of buildings in the village and especially organising village festivals and ceremonies. In the past such village organisations received more impetus and undertook much more gigantic works towards promoting village welfare. We have also referred to the services of Morungs which existed in the past in all the villages which, especially, had a bearing on imparting training to young men to grow up as citizens in the State in the light of the Naga traditions. Today morungs still exist in a few villages but have lost much vitality. Since the inception of the State, the Government has further instituted various social service schemes in the fields of education, health, agriculture, industries and other departments

[1] 839—DHD/69 dated Nov. 11, 1969

Chapter XVII

PLACES OF INTEREST

I. Administrative Headquarters:—Special emphasis has first to be laid on the five administrative headquarters which are declared as towns in the District.[1] They are Dimapur, Kohima, Phek, Peren and Tseminyu.

1. Dimapur:—Originally a Kachari word *Dimasa* after the rivers which flow through it and was the renowned headquarters of the old Kachari kingdom, before it was shifted to Maibong; hitherto prior to its shifting, it was described to be a great city with large-scale undertakings in pottery and sericulture. The stone memorials and tanks which still survive point out to its ancient greatness.

Dimapur was the renowned Naga hat in the past while other supplementary petty markets have grown on the Dhansiri in its vicinity. Traditions point out to ancient Rengma inhabitation at Dimapur and along the Zubzar, a tributary of Doyang which they call Rengmapani. Later on they migrated northwardly to Borpathor and Rengmapahar near Golaghat where their colonies still survive. According to traditions, the Rengmas left at Dimapur a rock inscription of arrow while all the other stone monuments constructed by Kacharis are believed to have been raised on the Rengma Naga rituals. Before the coming of the British, the Rengmas supplied iron implements to the plains. Later on the Angami and Zeliang in close proximity preponderated. For administrative convenience, Dimapur was bifurcated from Assam and incorporated in Naga Hills District.

Dimapur started to gain economic significance shortly after the railway line and Imphal road were constructed. More impetus was laid during the Japanese invasion when it was made military strategic camp. After Nagaland was formed, Dimapur has become a principal supply centre and an active sub-divisional headquarters. There are S.D.O.'s Office, State Bank, Forest and P.W.D. colonies, Nagaland and Manipur State Transport stations, and other branch offices of the important Directorates. Among educational institutions, there is a high school with a spacious hostel compound, a college and cottage training centres (both Government and private). There are the industrial estate of Nagaland and the Khandsari Sugar plant and other minor industries. Among

[1] According to an official report of the Interim Body, June 1962, p 17, while in the Census, only two of the oldest headquarters are mentioned as towns

the hotels, mention may be made of Delux, Hotel Mandira, Punjab Hotel and Manipuri hotels. The circuit house is presumably one of the best in the State. Many workshops and mills, shops and stores are growing out. Merchant classes from outside the District get special permits. The population is mixed. A great portion of waste-lands has been distributed to deserving Naga persons for building and cultivation purpose.

The following are the important localities: –

(1) Kusiaribil, Darogajan, Puranabazar, Nahabari, Padumpukhuri, Bamunpukhuri, Disagophu, Dhansiripar, Amaluma, Doyapur, Goneshnagar, Haladisa and Mangzumukh—all Kachari.[1]
(2) Hatimora, Dobagaon and Samaguri—Garo. Another busti Dorago Pathar is a mixed Garo and Kachari busti.
(3) Kashiram—Mikir.
(4) Nagorjan—mixed Zeliangroung and Angami.
(5) Fafijung—Kuki busti.
(6) Kacharigaon—Nepalese. Nepalese are also scattered at Lengrijan, Nepaligaon, Nutan Busti, Singrijan and Dhopanala.
(7) Doncan after Mr S. J Duncan, Deputy Commissioner—mixed Ao and Lotha.
(8) Colliery colony—mainly Bengalee locality in addition to other mixed communities.
(9) Diphupar—having a mixed population.
(10) Rangapahar side—inhabited by Sangtam Sila and Ao.
(11) Singrijan—known as Christian busti inhabited by the Munda, ex-tea estate labourers.
(12) Signal—mixed Sema, Nepali and Angami, originally known as Oriya Bengalee gaon.
(13) Naga new Model mixed tribes
(14) Thaehahekhu (Thehekhum)—Sema.
(15) Erabil—a new Ao colony.

The population in the town is heterogeneous owing to the important business, traffic, industrial and other establishments, thus exhibiting diverse cultural aspects.

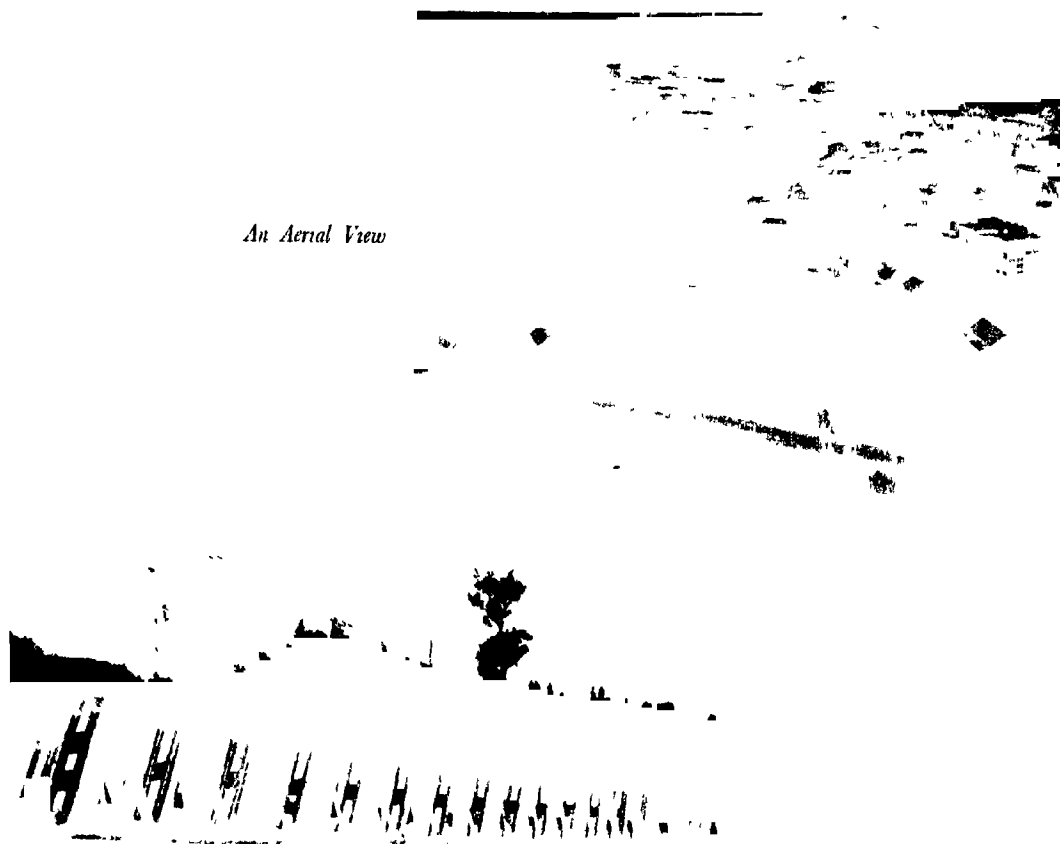
2. Kohima: –In 1850, Kohima joined Khonoma, Jotsoma, and Kikrima in fighting against British expeditions. During Angami uprisings against the

[1] Kachari colonies have existed since time immemorial.

Epitaph at the War Cemetery

In the Heart of Kohima

War Cemetery at Kohima (Foreground)

Naga Hospital

An Aerial View

A Bridge on Kohima-Dimapur Road

British in 1878-79, it became the battle-field when the Angamis rose against the Government. It has been the District headquarters since 1878 and until Independence, it was the only town in the Naga Hills District.[1]

Situated on a saddle, it has a charming landscape. It remained hitherto, throughout the British regime, a petty town with a few office institutions on District scale as it was the Government policy not to incur high expenditure for any development work. All that was done to administer the District was only in the interest of keeping the strategy and hence nothing was done to develop the communications, enhance the economy, promote the living conditions and further educational propaganda work.

Kohima captured the headlines of the world dailies during April 1944, when the Japanese invaded the Naga Hills and many soldiers along with the local persons had laid down their lives during its defence. The war cemetery situated in the heart of the town commemorates the grim story of the war and of those engaged in its defence.[2]

Kohima presents a contrast today when after Nagaland was formed, large-scale buildings—offices, Government institutions and residential quarters were raised on an intensive scale and along with these, trade and traffic in and around the town has become more and more enhanced. The town has a network of communications with the nearby and distant interior places over the whole State now. Transport has become fast and cheap. Consequently, the ridges and mountain slopes which remained hitherto desolate in Kohima have been full of buildings. Construction works are increasing and new sites for the administrative headquarters are emerging along with the co-operative stores, canteens, and other installations

The important localities:

Local Names	English
Mechozue	High School Road
Mission Compound	Rivenburg Road
Sorunu	Cemetery
Kakaie	P W D
Terbunyuike	Kuki Picquet

[1] Kohima started as district headquarters in 1878-80 with the following Government institutions a court house, a block comprising a magazine, treasury and records, two small lock-ups, hospital ground, quarter-guard, Government staff buildings and lines for scouts and peons and bazar

[2] During the battle there was a total of 54 Gurkhas and 268 Muslims buried and 917 Hindus and Sikhs cremated. The total number of demises was 2,838 including British and Commonwealth soldiers. These include available figures. The number of others who fell down from among both the defence and the Japanese is not known

Local names			English
Dzudouzou	..	..	Chandmari
Kharuzou	.	..	Below Assam Rifles
Pezicliestsie	.	..	Veterinary Compound
Zienuobadze	..	..	High School Site
Seruzouna	..	..	Hospital Area

Kohima village situated on the highest summit on the north-easterly direction and opposite the Japvo and Kapamedzu ridges on south-east, is a big village said to contain more than 10,000 inhabitants. It has the following Khels:—

T	—Khel	or	Tsutuonoma
L	—Khel	or	Lhisema
D	—Khel	or	Dapfutsuma
P	—Khel	or	Pfuchatsuma

It is perhaps one of the biggest Indian villages.

3. Peren:—the Sub-Divisional Officer's headquarters which has recently emerged in the heart of the Zeliang country. It is of economic importance as a supply centre to the Zeliang-Kuki area with direct road communications with Dimapur. Its old village name is Birema. Till the close of the British administration, it had but only a primary school institution. Recently, parts of the Government buildings with the offices of the S.D.O. have shifted to Jalukie, the new headquarters for Zeliangroung area.

4. Phek:—It is the headquarters of the Additional Deputy Commissioner for Chakhesang area, with the NES block centres dispensary institutions (including veterinary) and other education and PWD offices. The only important institutions before the formation of the Interim Government were the school and a small dispensary.

For Phek, a new township site has been selected where construction works are going on. The headquarters will shift to the new township when the buildings will be over.

5. Tseminyu:—It was started as the headquarters of the civil liaison officer in 1956 in the Rengma area, who was however replaced by an Assistant Commissioner when Naga Hills Tuensang Area was constituted in the year 1957. Afterwards the Extra-Assistant Commissioner was placed incharge. The Tseminyu Sub-Division comprises 18 villages, almost all Rengma with Pughoboto circle of 16 Sema villages.

Tseminyu with its characteristic feature as administrative centre has buildings such as PWD, the block, hospital, court and school. A new township is now under construction, and when ready the new headquarters will shift there.

It may be worth-noting further to mention the following administrative centres:

1. Meluri:—Which first came into picture in 1909 when an outpost was raised to check the incursions of the neighbouring war-like tribes. But it was in 1923 that the vast portion of eastern Chakhesang country was incorporated in the administration. A regular administration was started in 1955, but it was in 1960 that a Circle Officer was given to the charge of Meluri. In 1962, an Extra-Assistant Commissioner was posted attached to the Additional Deputy Commissioner at Phek.

2. Pfutsero:—Its increasing importance is more as business than administrative headquarters in the heart of the Chakhesang mountain terrain, where many shops and miscellaneous patterns of business have sprung. There are horticultural garden, weaving co-operatives, hospital and school institutions. The circle is attached to Phek sub-division. It is also Chakhesang Christian centre with some noted Baptist institutions.

II. Historical:—**(1) Khonoma** which undertook warfare operations with the British explorers on numerous occasions. The first important war occurred in 1850 during the Lt. Vincent's engagement when this village with its confederates withheld British advent for many months. But the most famous freedom struggle was in 1878-79. when it obstructed the troops' entry into the village for six months. The Government records point out that this village remained belligerent and impregnable despite overwhelming counter-attack of the troops.

(2) Mezoma:—another renowned war-like village In 1840 with Piphema and Jotsoma, the village obstructed Grange's survey operations. For 25 years, from 1840-65, it was renowned for its raids in the north Cachar and Mikir hills. In 1850 with Khonoma, it offered stubborn resistance to the British advent in their land. In 1877, a strong punitive expedition was taken against Mezoma after its raids in north Cachar, but against severe odds, it protracted the warfare till January 1878. Mezoma next organised the Angami liberation war which broke out in September 1878.

Trade Centres

(1) **Chumukedima:**—which attained foremost administrative importance during the inception of the Naga Hills District when it was made the first Deputy Commissioner's headquarters in 1866, situated in the foothills near the Diphu-Khukhi confluence at the part where the rivers debouch the hills upon the plains. It is also known as Nichuguard or Samaguting (after mispronunciation of Chumukedima). Vegetation is mainly tropical.

As the first District headquarters, many expeditions and campaigns were sent out to the interior places and rudimentary steps were adopted to consolidate the administration in the neighbourhood from this first district headquarters. The roads built by the earliest Deputy Commissioners such as John Gregory and Butler still survive which connect it with Zeliang, Angami and Lotha areas. Chumukedima had the privilege of having the first school, hospital and other administrative buildings and the first mission centre, before they shifted to Kohima in 1878-80.

Chumukedima lies on the Dimapur-Imphal highway. There are a botanical park, a police training centre, water work and a police check-post.

The original inhabitants are believed to have belonged to the Khonoma-Angami group who migrated and settled at Chumukedima some generations ago.

(2) **Ghaspani or Medziphema:**—situated on the foothills of Kohima-Dimapur highway, with its tropical feature of weather and vegetation, it has grown as pine-apple plantation centre and road-side station. There is an integrated extension training centre which conducts agricultural research and which imparts training to the village level workers.

Epilogue

The District abounds with the varying vegetation. Many villages raised over spurs of hills are not tiny inhabitations but are big enough for accommodating hundreds of houses. Villages unadulterated yet in some remote interior places furnish sights of old marks of culture with rows of stone monuments, gate system and morungs.

Mileage— distance from Kohima

Phek	..	..	72 miles
			55 miles by the old alignment
Peren	.	..	60 miles
Tseminyu	..	..	30 miles

Road accesses are available with all the emerging townships in the District.

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